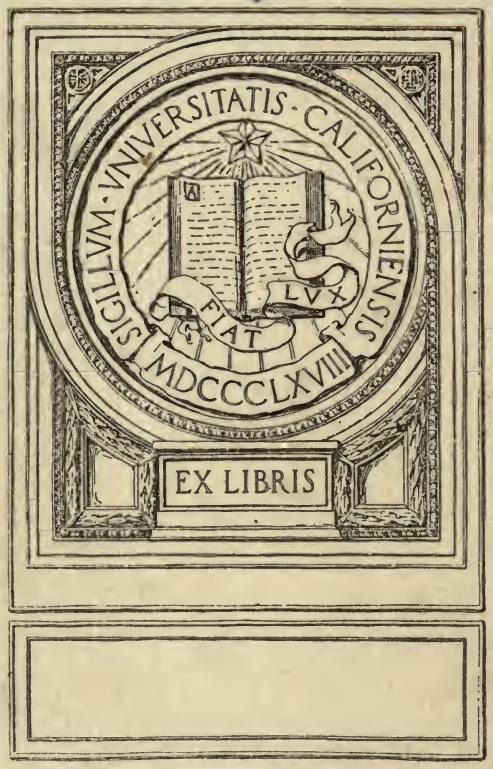
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# THE MUNICIPALITIES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

6-13

BY

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# PREFACE

THE present volume is the outcome of a course of lectures on the Municipalities of the Roman Empire, originally delivered in the University of London, as part of a scheme for the "higher teaching" of students. The lectures, with some changes, were given afterwards to American audiences, first as "Lowell Lectures" in Boston, then in the Columbia University, New York. My purpose is to provide students with a survey of the Roman Empire, regarded in one of its most important aspects, that of a vast federation of commonwealths, retaining many characteristics of the old so-called "city-state." This feature of the Graeco-Roman world, though it attracts an increasing amount of attention from the expert scholar, comes but little within the ken of the ordinary student of antiquity. He usually thinks of the component portions of the Roman empire as large sections which he conceives as provinces or nationalities. This impression is naturally conveyed by histories of the empire, both ancient and modern, in which the municipality hardly appears as what it really was, an institution fundamental and vital to the structure of the whole political organisation. It has been my endeavour to bring to light the historical significance of the great movement of civilisation whereby for loose rural and tribal unions, whose bond was mainly religious, was substituted a civic system, in which the walled city administered a territory, sometimes of large

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extent, the whole constituting a sort of little state, with a greater or less degree of internal autonomy. The changing relations of these communities with the central government often illustrate and illuminate the general course of history in a remarkable manner. The growth, the spread, the prosperity and the decline of the towns, form a momentous element in the annals of the Roman empire. Not only did Rome civilise the West in her own manner, using the Italian town pattern as the unit of her administration, but she enabled the Greek "polis" to complete its conquest of the East, and allowed it the same place in the government of the Eastern section of her dominions.

In dealing with this subject, the greatest difficulty lies in the mass of details which it presents. The Roman empire was indeed in its earlier stages a thing of few principles, and of infinite detail, and he who pushes far the facile passion for generalisation will never understand it. The method which has been adopted in this book has its inconveniences. It consists in a survey of the empire, province by province, designed to show how the Roman rulers influenced the development and decay of the municipal organisation in each. After trying other modes of arrangement I adopted this as the one which brings best into view the extraordinary plasticity of Roman modes of government. The residuary impression of the ancient world left by a classical education comprises commonly the idea that the Romans ran, so to speak, a sort of political steam-roller over the ancient world. This has a semblance of truth for the period of decline, but none for the earlier days. No treatment of the material other than the one here applied would effectually undermine this erroneous view. And the arrangement by provinces may facilitate the use of the work by students. By seeing what the Romans

effected in only one or a few parts of their empire, the reader may gain some idea of their whole policy.

In the lectures which led to the production of this book, lack of time compelled me to give attention mainly to the civilisation of the West. The sections embracing the Eastern provinces have now been expanded for the sake of completeness. The largest amount of space has had to be given to the building up of the municipal system by Rome, before the creation of the new monarchy by Diocletian. The decline of the cities has had to be treated summarily, though of course it presents innumerable features of great historical interest. I hope that what I have written will impress on some readers who would not otherwise obtain the impression, that the municipal bricks, if I may use the phrase, are not the least important among those out of which the real edifice of Roman Imperial history has to be constructed.

JAMES S. REID.

CAMBRIDGE,
12 *March*, 1913.

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# ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

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24. *Add* Minor *after* Leptis.
30. *For* at Latium *read* in Latium.
39. *After* kinsfolk *insert* and neighbours.
48. *After* Forest *insert* (*saltus*).
77. *For* replaced *read* absorbed.
123. *For* the towns of Italy *read* these towns in Italy.
128. *After* lex Rubria *insert* which is often conjectured to be a comitial law, but may well have been a 'lex data.'
138. *For* as a rule *read* often.
144. *For* Marrucini *read* Hirpini.
147. *For* Lavinium *read* Laurentum (Lavinium).
161. *Omit* comma after legatus.
189. *For* might *read* would. The statement in the text with regard to Roman and Latin cities has been questioned by Mommsen and others, so far as the earliest period of the empire is concerned, but on grounds that seem insufficient.
202. *For* Tropaeum *read* Tropaea.
209. *For* Macedonian *read* Illyrian.
213. Strike out the sentence beginning 'An example.'
217. *For* Adrianopolis *read* Hadrianopolis.
223. *After* Exeter *add* (Isca Damnonum).
233. *For* Baetica *read* Hispania Ulterior, later named Baetica.
234. *Before* the word 'attempt' *insert* official.
246. Remove commas *after* islands *and* (Iviza).
,, *After* Mago *add* in Portus Magonis.
287. Remove comma *after* Marcus Aurelius.
301. *After* citizens *add* and other inhabitants of the territory.
319. *After* subscription *add* but as a rule only for minor purposes.
324. *For* Pisidia *read* Cappadocia.
346. *For* gave emperors to Rome *read* aided emperors of Syrian origin to ascend the throne of Rome.
352. *For* Askaios *read* Askaenos.
353. *After* Archelaos *add* (descendant of the great Pontic general of the same name).
356. *For* Cimmerian Bosporos *read* the kingdom of Cimmerian Bosporos.

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357. *For* the Bosporos *read* the kingdom of Bosporos.

376. *For* Pliny's eyes *read* the eyes of the elder Pliny.

378. *After* the words 'his own honour' *insert* combined with that of his mother and the Senate.

381. *After* Scipio *add* after the battle of Magnesia.

385. *After* Lykos *add* a tributary of the Maeander.

386. As regards the words, 'never systematic,' perhaps an exception existed in the case of Achaia. An inscription from Dyme, now in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge (Hicks' *Historical Greek Inscriptions*, p. 202), records the punishment of two men of the city who attempted to pass laws 'contrary to the constitution given to the Achaeans by the Romans.' The date is not much after the subjection of Achaia. But the restrictions were probably not long maintained.

390. *Before* Scodra *insert* the word 'near.'

393. *For* Lucian's Ass *read* Apuleius.

398. *For* Aeniani *read* Aenianes.

428. *After* Roman colony *insert* (Laus Iulia Corinthus).

449. *After* the sentence ending 'eastern cities' *insert*, 'A recently discovered inscription from Amorgos (*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, xv. p. 573), shows the ekklesia under the control of the magistrates, in just the Roman fashion.'

455. *For* quinquennalicii *read* quinquennales.

462. *For* Terracina *read* Tarracina.

478. *For* Achaia *read* Greece.

486. *After* Concordia *insert* (a colony of Augustus near Aquileia).

# CHAPTER I

## PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

THE subject which I have to introduce is, to state it briefly, that of the city as the chief, or it would be nearer the truth to say, the sole ultimate constituent element in the structure of the ancient Roman empire. There would be little exaggeration in asserting that the town stands to that empire in a relation like that of the cell to the tissues in a living body. We are familiar with the fact that the vast organisation to which we give the name of the Roman empire had for its source a petty town which, in dim prehistoric time, arose on a few isolated hills of the Campagna, close to the yellow Tiber's stream. In the whole of history there has been no development so stupendous, so majestic, or so orderly, as that by which this little civic community was enabled not merely to bring within the circle of its power all the centres of ancient civilisation, from Babylon to Carthage, from Memphis to Marseilles, but also to lure from barbarism many peoples on whom hardly a breath of culture either from Hellas or from the Orient had ever breathed. Scholars by profession know well, but students less advanced often fail to realise, that through this marvellous evolution there runs a continuous thread of history which is rather municipal than imperial. Until we catch the clue and can follow it through the ages of Rome's rise and fall, there is much in Roman history which will be misconceived, and we shall fail to envisage clearly the policy by which the supremacy of Rome was won, the manner in which it was used when

won, and the process by which the Roman type of civilisation was spread over the western half of Europe, while an immense extension was given in the East to that form of culture which the Greeks had planted there of old. In particular, a study of the town in the ancient world casts some welcome light on two great historical problems which are probably destined never to be completely solved, the problem of Rome's elevation, and the problem of her decay.

For more reasons than one, it has been difficult until recent times to view aright the ancient municipality in its connexion with the Roman ascendency. One of these reasons is almost paradoxical. It is that the ancient historians of Rome treated her story from a municipal rather than an imperial point of view. The ruling city interests a Livy and a Tacitus almost to the exclusion of all else. And until late years, modern historians have generally followed their lead. They have not travelled far beyond the chronicles of the sword and the picturesque lives of the heroic exponents of virtue and villany, and the working of the great central organs of government. In ancient and modern histories alike, non-Roman communities rarely appear excepting when they are in conflict with, or in discontented subjection to, their suzerain. The whole of Latin literature affords but few and dim and transient glimpses of the inner life of even the greatest cities outside Rome, whether in Italy or in the provinces; though in old days as in ours the great main river of history depended for its volume on countless affluents drawn from the minor town and the field. Ancient Roman literary conventions left little room for the delineation of life in a provincial city. Only here and there does a writer who is untroubled by the metropolitan sense of dignity afford us peeps which are precious amid the poverty of our material. Thus Petronius depicts for us with vivid realism the society of a seaport, possibly Puteoli, which in his time, that of Nero, was rapidly becoming the principal maritime town of Italy. And Lucian sketches with satiric genius the humours of the Graeco-Asiatic city of the second century.

The darkness which brooded over municipal life in the Roman age was not dispelled until the explorer had won for the scholar the records which the innumerable neglected sites of ancient settlements had effectually concealed. The passion entertained by the men of ancient days for recording everything that honoured them on enduring monuments of stone or bronze, has preserved for our time a precious inheritance, on which we are now entering. Inscriptions and other memorials, from every region of the Roman dominions, have been already unearthed in number almost beyond counting, and more are being disclosed daily. These have been and are being eagerly studied by a host of scholars. Already the gain to our knowledge of the ancient world under Roman rule has been immense. Daylight has been let in on vast tracts in the provincial life of the empire, of which hardly a pale reflexion is presented to us in literature. The book scholar who for the first time makes a study of the fascinating graffiti which have been unearthed at Pompeii, for example, feels as if scales had fallen from his eyes. But here, as ever, a price has had to be paid for progress. The task of portraying the Roman empire in its entire history has become titanic, and it is scarcely possible to conceive that a future Gibbon will arise, able to cope with it, and to draw and tint the vast picture by his single genius. That Colossus who bestrid the ancient Roman world, Theodor Mommsen, was and will remain the last man whose capacity and knowledge were equal to so great an enterprise. And even that limited section of the picture with which we are now concerned, the municipal side of the mighty imperial fabric, already needs for its perfection a mastery of detail which could only be the fruit of a life's devotion. All I can hope to do is to illustrate the importance of the subject by presenting a few of the chief deductions which may be made from a survey of the development of the Roman empire regarded as an organisation based upon a federation of municipalities forming an aggregate of civic communities enjoying a greater or less measure of autonomy, and having certain

characteristics derived from an age when state and city were convertible terms.

Such was the view of the Roman empire which presented itself first and foremost, and above all, to those who were subject to it, down to its latest days. A rhetorician of the first Christian century, speaking of the Hellenised East, identifies it with "the cities," using the phrase just as it is employed by Thucydides and Xenophon to represent the Hellas of their time. A scrap of manuscript was discovered not long ago, which appeared to be a fragment of a general account of the Roman state, just before it fell into ruin. The writer treated it as made up of the civic bodies which it comprised, numbering, according to his reckoning, 5627. But it is unnecessary to insist further on this point. No one can read Strabo, for example, or the elder Pliny, without realising that the ancients habitually viewed the Roman empire as constituted by and summed up in a vast confederation of municipalities.

This conception was of course only developed by a process of evolution continued through many generations, in prehistoric and historic time. The process, as completed under Roman guidance, may often be paralleled from the experience of other states and empires. Twenty or more centuries before the fabled date of Rome's foundation, great city-states sprang into existence by the Tigris and Euphrates, warred with each other, and ended by becoming component parts of a great empire. And the towns within the states of medieval Europe, above all the cities of the Hanseatic league, frequently had a status which resembled not a little that of towns within the great imperial Roman polity. But parallels to the story of Italian cities in the Middle Ages, of Florence, of Genoa, of Milan, of Venice, are easier to find in the records of Greece than in those of Rome. The municipal system of the Roman empire was only in part a natural growth; in great measure it owed its origin to the deliberate policy of dominant states and rulers. The wandering adventurers who sowed with Hellenic settlements

all the shores of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, during or before the great age of Greece, obeyed an impulse which sprang naturally from the circumstances of their time. They lived in an age when enterprise and discovery were rife as they never were again until Columbus and his followers brought the Western hemisphere within the ken of Europe. But what may be called the artificial creation of civic communities, as opposed to their origination by natural causes, is characteristic of ancient civilisation, and can receive no real illustration from later history. Every great ancient ruler and most great ancient statesmen aspired to leave behind them the glory of having been founders of cities. It was the custom of the Greeks to pay semi-divine honours to the 'Oikistês' or leader of a new colonial foundation. Under Alexander and his successors, Hellenic or partly Hellenic communities sprang up on the soil of Asia as if by magic. Alexander himself was reputed to have established seventy cities, and his example was followed by the rulers of the kingdoms, great and small, which were carved out of his dominions. In this way islets of Greek influence were established in the Oriental main, in Mesopotamia and even as far as Bactra and Central Asia; and this process received a great impetus when the Romans bestowed on their Asiatic subjects the little-known blessing of internal peace. The Hellenisation of western Asia by the Macedonian powers was the most potent tide of advancing civilisation known to history until Roman policy, using the municipality as its instrument, penetrated and transformed the West. There, by methods strikingly similar, amid all differences, the Romans emulated the vast achievements of the Macedonians in the East. By these two great movements vast regions of the ancient world, to which civil polities had been strange, were covered with municipal institutions which, in spite of divergences, conformed more or less to a general type.

Yet a clear dividing line ran through the Roman empire, and severed what may be roughly called the Hellenised East from the Romanised or Italianised West. Even in art,

literature and religion, the two great waves of civilisation which spread from middle Europe, during the Roman dominance, affected each other indirectly rather than directly, and in other relations they had small contact with each other. A profound contrast between West and East manifested itself to the Romans in the earliest days of their supremacy over the ancient world. They made but feeble efforts to overcome it, and soon submitted to it as an irreversible condition of their ascendency. The fundamental differences between the two sides of the empire proved stronger than any superficial uniformity of administration which the governing authority was able to impose, and finally the empire was rent in twain. When we contemplate the structure of local government in the towns of the Roman world we perceive distinctions between its two great divisions, which are as significant, historically, as the similarities, though these are neither few nor unimportant. The Romans planted all over the West the seeds of a civilisation and forms of municipal organisation which were finally fashioned in Italy, while the Greeks scattered far and wide in the East their 'Polis' and the culture which centred in it, whose characteristics are revealed to us by their literature. In these lectures, I shall deal principally, though not exclusively, with the development of municipalism in Italy and with Italianised municipalities of western Europe and African lands, as they were in the earlier centuries of Roman rule. In this field the Romans achieved their grandest social victories, and on the subject races of these portions of their empire they were able to impress the specific stamp of their own civilisation, while in Asia on their advent they found existing a Graeco-Oriental atmosphere in which their own spirit was all but powerless. In dealing with the civic life of the peoples on the western side of Rome's dominions, my design is, above all, to study it for the sake of the light which it casts on the larger aspects of the history of the Romans, on their career of conquest, and on the mode in which they used their power when it had been secured. We must strive first

and foremost to see what rôle the municipalities had allotted to them in the great drama of Roman imperial government. The inner economy and the social circumstances of the Roman imperial town form fascinating and many-sided subjects of investigation, but time and space will compel me to treat them lightly and briefly.

On the very threshold of our subject, limited as it has been described, a fundamental question demands an answer. Can we define, adequately for our purpose, the term municipality, dealing with it from the ancient point of view? I believe that we can draw a rough but sufficient outline of the town, as the ancients in general conceived it, in spite of all diversities. In the wide realm which came under Roman sway, both in the prevalently Greek East and in the prevalently Roman West, amid all the variations in local administration, there was one distinction which was universally recognised. Readers of Thucydides and of the Greek writers generally will remember the contrast which was continually pointed, between the more advanced peoples whose life centred in the 'Polis,' the city proper, and the more backward tribes who lived 'village-wise,' in aggregates on which the name 'Kômê' was bestowed. So too in Italy and generally in the West, the city, known as 'urbs' or 'oppidum' or 'civitas,' stood out over against the more rudimentary communities to which a number of names were applied, 'pagus,' from which our word 'pagan,' properly 'countryman,' is derived, 'vicus,' or village, 'forum,' the country market, 'conciliabulum,' a rustic place of gathering, and 'castellum,' a small fortified site, with few inhabitants. On both sides of the empire, the division between the urban and the non-urban settlement was deemed to be of the first importance. Tribes or nations which, like the Arcadians, dwelt mainly or entirely in the rural village, were regarded as lagging in the rear of civilisation. From the earliest dawn of Greek history till the day when the sun of Rome set, there was a continuous movement, dependent on the growth of peace, trade and wealth, to bring such peoples within the

sphere of municipal organisation. In Greece many statesmen were eager to tread in the footsteps of the mighty legendary legislator of Athens, Theseus the half divine. Thus the great Theban, Epameinondas, created Megalopolis, which was to be to Arcadia what Athens was to Attica. When the 'Kômê' was subordinated to the 'Polis' the Greeks called the measure a 'Synoikismos,' literally a joining together of habitations, because, in general, a part of the population was concentrated in a new municipal centre. But, as we shall see, the change might be unaccompanied by any such concentration, both on the eastern and on the western side of the empire. It must not, however, be supposed that the non-urban settlements were without their own local institutions. They were subjected to a varying degree of control by the urban centres, with which they were, as a rule, organically connected. But they often imitated, or even aped, the institutions of the town proper, both in the Graecised East and in the Latinised West.

What then were the marks by which the Greeks and Romans were enabled to distinguish between the city and the village? A brief description of them must be here given, to be supplemented later on. The first and most vital characteristic of the normal municipality was that it should possess either complete local autonomy or a large measure of self-government. Both in ancient Italy and in ancient Greece, the idea of the city which prevailed had been moulded in the crucible of freedom. Royalty is a sporadic phenomenon in the historic age of Greece, and it had disappeared from Italy before the Roman conquest. And a place whose local affairs were controlled from without was to the classic Greeks and Romans no city in the true sense. The first lesson, a lesson of the profoundest consequence, which the municipal history of the Roman empire teaches, is this, that the rise of the Roman power was furthered incalculably by the scope which it allowed to local freedom; that in its great age it rested on a vast system of civic self-government; that so long as municipal liberty maintained

its vigour, the empire flourished; and that when despotism overflowed the municipalities, then the decay of the great imperial structure went on rapidly to its fatal issue. But this is a theme which will be amply illustrated as we proceed. The general ancient conception of the city required that it should be ringed round with fortifications. The Spartans of the classical time were almost alone in giving practical effect to the maxim of Sophocles that men and not walls constitute a city. The narrower and more elementary civism of the village was important enough in ancient society, but the flower of civic life only bloomed fully in the walled town. In the earlier days of Greece the space enclosed by the defences was not great; for the most part only the summit of the hill which was called the 'Acropolis,' or 'high town.' The main body of the citizens would dwell below, and would only seek protection when threatened by an enemy. A similar arrangement may be still seen in the remains of primitive settlements on hills in Wales, where foundations of houses are situated outside and below the fortifications. The enclosure of a large population within a city wall came comparatively late in Greece; as Thucydides remarks in the introduction to his history, it was the result of growing wealth and prosperity. The history of Greece is in this respect not essentially different from that of other ancient lands. The 'Roman Peace' led of course to the neglect of the old fortifications, and (as may be seen at Rome and Pompeii) to the extension of dwellings beyond the enceinte. Defences had often to be improvised in the evil days of barbarian invasion.

While the public functions of the citizen could as a rule only be exercised within the town walls, many burgesses would dwell outside on the land which was the peculiar property of the city. The Latin term for this land is 'territorium.' The possession of a fair estate was vital to the ancient conception of the municipality. A struggle about boundaries was one of the common incidents of civic life. Only a few maritime towns, to which, like Puteoli for

instance, sea-borne trade was all in all, and places like Lugudunum (Lyons), which were important centres of trade and government, could subsist without it. We shall find that many of the non-urban communities, even when they were dependent on an urban centre, controlled their own stretch of land. In extent the town domains varied enormously in different regions. Generally speaking, the younger cities were more richly endowed than those of earlier date. The ancient towns were only fully developed when and where society had advanced from the pastoral to the agricultural stage, and at one time, in most, the holding of land was a necessary condition of unrestricted citizenship. As in medieval Europe, the actual cultivators of the soil had their dwellings within the city to a much larger extent than is now the case. If the Roman empire had been thoroughly municipalised in its whole length and breadth, the boundaries of the 'territoria' would have cut into sections its whole surface, and it would have been possible to construct a map of the empire divided according to these municipal domains. But even in the most flourishing days of municipalism there were, as we shall have occasion to see, large extra-territorial regions in every land excepting Italy itself. The progressive creation of municipal 'territoria,' after running a rapid course for many centuries, was rudely checked in the later imperial age, though it never altogether ceased so long as the empire endured.

2. Next, the city must have its deliberative council, parallel in some sort to the Roman Senate and the Athenian Boulê, and its formal assembly of the burgesses, possessed of elective and legislative functions, at the height of the municipal development, and corresponding to the 'Ecclêsia' of Athens, and the 'Populus' of Rome. There must also be a magistracy organised in different grades, to conduct the business of the community. And, above all, the city possesses its own cults of the gods under whose protection it lives, and they are tended by a priestly body, authorised to do service in the name of the whole circle of burgesses. The religions

of the empire were above all things civic, and religious practice was but one of the recognised duties of the citizen. The secular sphere and the religious were not marked off from each other; the priestly offices and the administrative were generally open to the same persons.

The relative importance of these constituent elements of the city, as well as the details of their framework, varied widely in different regions and at different times. But in the best age of municipal government a civic unit which did not possess one and all of these institutions in some form or other was not held to constitute a city. And the historic evolution of ancient society had impressed upon the town with its territory some of the characteristics which properly belong to a state. Many of the older cities, before passing under the Roman overlordship, had figured as sovereign states, with a history stretching back into the cloudland of legend; and legends and history alike were cherished with pride down to the latest days. Many a city in imperial times, in and out of Italy, claimed to be as old as or older than Rome itself. And almost every town, East or West, of ancient origin celebrated its historical or mythical foundation. Even after the Romans had made themselves lords of all, the ancient independent status, though continuously impaired in the imperial time, was never altogether effaced, and something of a similar dignity attached even to the communities of newer creation. Every regularly organised town, however humble, had the right to describe itself as a Commonwealth, or 'Respublica,' while its burgesses formed a 'Populus'; the very phrases which described the great Roman commonwealth itself. Indeed even when Rome had expanded into an empire, when, as a late Latin poet expressed it, "what had been a city (*urbs*) had become a world (*orbis*)," or as Ovid put it "the extent of the Roman city and of the world had become the same," it had not altogether sacrificed its original character of a town-state. The fact that the Roman empire was the expansion of a town-commonwealth was never forgotten. To the general mass of her subjects Rome appeared not

merely as a world-wide ruling power, but as the predominant partner in a vast municipal alliance, as the greatest city in the network of cities by which the world was overspread. Herein lies the deepest of all the differences which distinguish the ancient municipality from the municipalities of the present age. Therefore we have nothing in our modern societies which corresponds with any closeness to the Graeco-Roman city. Geneva for a part of its history was a Republic presenting some resemblance to a primitive city-state. A number of the medieval Italian towns were states as well as towns, after their peculiar fashion, and one of these town-states, Venice, lasted to the end of the eighteenth century. The limited sovereignty which many cities of Germany enjoyed in the Middle Ages has left its latest traces in Hamburg, Lübeck and Bremen. These partial parallels to the cities of the ancient world were obscured by the growth of the great territorial sovereignties which cover modern Europe.

Such, in rude outline, was the nature of the ancient municipality in the times when it flourished. All over the regions where the Greek and Roman civilisation extended, were scattered civic communities approximating more or less to the type which has been described. Even the Punic Carthage seemed to contemporary observers, Aristotle, Polybius and others, to conform in the main to the general pattern of municipal organisation. The more civilised societies over which the Romans gained control bore to a great extent, already, the urban stamp upon them, and the conquerors had only to adopt and promote a process of municipalisation which had been carried far in large portions of their dominions. In this old world a group of men who had once possessed the normal civic institutions and had lost them felt itself dishonoured and lived a life of humiliation. Or rather, a city which dwindling prosperity or the disfavour of the great had reduced to the status of a village or Kômê, as the Greeks called it, was, in a political sense, blotted out from the land of the living. Even if it continued to be populous and to glitter with material wealth, its true birthright

was lost. It would be possible to give many illustrations of this sentiment, which was natural to Greeks and Italians alike and to the peoples who received from them their culture. I will however only adduce the instance of the famous Italic town of Capua. Having deserted the Roman alliance at the instigation of Hannibal, it was mulcted of its political privileges when recaptured by the Romans. It still remained the most populous and prosperous place in Italy, next to Rome itself, and was a famous home of wealth and luxury. Even local administration was carried on to some extent by the inhabitants themselves, who were able on occasion to make known their opinion upon national affairs. Yet because the institutions which specially marked off the city, properly so called, from settlements of smaller consequence, had been dissolved, Cicero could speak of Capua as an abode of the politically dead, a mere harbourage for merchants and tillers of the ground, a place wherein the fruits of the earth might be garnered. Capua was relieved from this reproach by Julius Caesar, who gave it once more the status of a city, and settled thousands of new colonists on its extensive territory.

Even this imperfect sketch of the general features of the ancient city may serve to explain in part the intensity and, in spite of aberrations, the dignity which municipal life long exhibited from one end of the empire to the other. Local patriotism nurtures the general life of a modern state in no unimportant degree, but it is vaguer and less vivid than its ancient counterpart, principally because it operates over larger areas. The man of to-day takes pride in being a Cornishman, a Welshman, an Irishman or a Highlander rather than in belonging to any spot within the districts to which these names belong. It is true that, just because the city counted for more in ancient life than in modern, the central town of every ancient dominion figured far more largely in the gaze of every subject than does a modern capital. Even Paris does not represent to a Frenchman all that Rome as a city meant to the whole of the people who lay beneath her

ascendency. But nevertheless, to the Roman and Greek alike, the provincial town of his origin, however petty it might be, with its shrines, its meeting places, its monuments, its works of art, was an object of the strongest affection. In the writings of many authors, Cicero and Pliny for example, we have evidence of the powerful hold which municipal patriotism had upon the hearts even of men who had a great part to play in the capital. Every man who had sprung from a provincial town had, as Cicero says, two fatherlands, and the lesser was as dear to him as the all-embracing fatherland which was Rome itself. If those whose main domicile was in Rome felt thus, the attachment to the local city of men who passed in it their whole lives must have been stronger still. To quote Cicero again, the storms of local politics were mere agitations in a winecup, but the 'Aegean' hurricanes that swept over the political field at Rome were not more keenly felt. To see his city adorned so as to imitate Roman grandeur, in so far as small things could be made to resemble great, was the ambition of every member of a burgess community in the West, just as Athens was copied by many Greek cities of the East. For centuries the outflow of private wealth for public purposes was great and incessant throughout the towns of the ancient world. If the material resources of that age and this be compared, it will be seen that the ancients far outshone the moderns in generosity directed to public ends. The expenditure was of course repaid by offices, honours, and flatteries of many kinds. The thirst for distinction prevalent in the little towns of antiquity is a theme for ridicule by ancient writers, as well as by modern scholars, but it was innocent, easily slaked, and, on the whole, productive of much good. A scornful sketch of the local magnate given by Horace in his "Journey to Brundisium" will be remembered, and there are many such in ancient literature. In reading the old sepulchral inscriptions, with their naïve records of trivial titles and unimportant honours, one is reminded of Kotzebue's satirical picture, in his play *Die deutschen Kleinstädter*, of life in a small German town,

where every holder of a minute office must be punctiliously addressed by the title which it carries with it. But the municipal history of the ancient societies amply accounts for the conventional forms by which local public spirit became encrusted, and Mommsen's scathing denunciations of the municipal vanity displayed in the Hellenic cities of Asia Minor were misconceived and misdirected. When the tightening grip of the central authority, as it passed through the stages which separate the Republic of the Scipios from the Oriental monarchy of the fourth and succeeding Christian centuries, pressed to death at last the old municipal pride, then the greatest of the pillars that upheld the Roman power was overthrown.

From what has been said it will be evident that we ought not to think of the Roman empire as primarily a complex of provinces determined by the lines of nationality, as is the case in greater or less degree with modern states. Yet this error is inveterate among students of the ancient world, and until recently it was not easy to free the mind from the prepossession, and to realise that in the Roman scheme of government the province was, until the empire's latest age, far inferior in importance to the municipality. Another misconception, once prevalent, was connected with the other, and was no less unfortunate. Because the Romans were in some ways the greatest organisers whom the world has known, it was often tacitly assumed that, in dealing with conquered peoples, they were animated from the first by a passion for immediate domination and for grinding uniformity. The evidence which will come before us will display them as they really were, political opportunists to a degree unsurpassed in history. As rulers their distinctive mark was not rigidity, but elasticity, pliability, adaptability; and herein lay the chief secret of their success. When a conquest had been achieved, it was their custom to interfere with local conditions only so far as immediate necessity required. Their general desire in government was to find and to follow the line of least resistance. Modern states might learn from them some

useful lessons. They carried toleration of local diversities to an extreme. They rarely interfered with any cult, however barbarous. They never essayed, like some foolish governments of after times, and indeed of our day, to stamp out a native language. The culture which they offered to the conquered races of the West was never pressed upon them by violence. Research tends more and more to show that, until the despotic age of Diocletian and Constantine, few, if any, affairs were regulated by uniform enactment for the whole empire. For instance, no system of imperial taxation was universally imposed till the end of the third century. Again, it was once believed that when all the empire received the Roman citizenship by that famous, but often misunderstood decree of the emperor Caracalla, Roman law in rigid sameness ruled from north to south and from east to west. But it is now known that local peculiarities in legal administration were permitted to survive to the latest age. It is true, however, that in the Roman dominions a growing tendency towards uniformity of organisation can be traced from the earliest days of their conquests. But, until the third century A.D. at least, this was not greatly due to pressure from the centre. In handling their external empire, the Romans trusted to the effect of time rather than of force, and they had their reward. Rome exercised a natural unforced attraction over the peoples who fell beneath her sway. Once conquered, they soon became loyal to the great peacemaking power, and ready, for the most part in the West at least, to adopt her institutions and her culture. The unifying force was sometimes retarded, sometimes accelerated, by the action of the paramount power; but the only great struggle which the Romans made to counteract it was when they compelled their Italian allies in 90 B.C. to win, by fighting, the Roman citizenship, and the right to call themselves by the name of Roman. The victory which the allies then gained over their suzerain assured the ultimate spread of the Roman language, Roman law, and the Roman municipal and social order, over the entire West. The trend towards assimilation

proceeded in the main from the conquered peoples themselves. Thus the character of modern Europe was in large part determined; for, broadly speaking, it owes its condition to the blend which was made between the civilisation of the universalised imperial state and the institutions of the Germanic invaders who shattered that state into fragments.

After these general observations we are ready to come to closer quarters with our theme. The proper introduction to a more precise study of the towns of the empire is a consideration of the municipal history of ancient Italy, for the types of civic community which permeated the western Mediterranean countries during the imperial period were first evolved in Italy, in the Republican age; and in so far as Greek municipalism changed its aspects, this was due to the influence of the Western types. Next will naturally follow a survey of the Western side of the Empire, region by region, to show how, by various methods, the transforming influence which emanated from Italy achieved its work. This will be succeeded by a necessarily brief consideration of the cities in the Eastern section of the Empire, where there was municipal expansion, but no transformation such as was effected in the West. Next will come a short account of the internal administration of the cities in the flourishing period of Roman municipalism, and of their relations with the central administration, succeeded by a brief narrative of the causes which led to decay and ruin. The lectures will conclude with a description in outline of the chief features of social life in the towns of the imperial age. Certain elements in the municipal expansion which were not peculiar to any one district will be most conveniently treated in connexion with the regions where they happened to be most conspicuous. And the same course will be followed in dealing with some matters which deeply affected the municipal history, though they strictly do not form part of it, for instance the growth of the great imperial domains.

# CHAPTER II

## ROME AND ITALY (A)

THE different races of Italy must have developed a good many varieties of the town in the pre-Roman age. But the evidence concerning them is of the scantiest. In every region of Italy, even in those parts where the Greeks were settled, the recorded municipal history generally begins with the advent of the Romans. The conditions antecedent to the unification of Italy which was the result of the Social War have left but few traces in such memorials as have come down to us. Information which can be put together with regard to the non-Hellenic cities, drawn from literature, coins, inscriptions, monuments disclosed by archaeological research, survivals of old local peculiarities in the later towns, and from other sources, is of small extent. Cato, the old censor, was one of the few Romans who had any interest in the Italian cities, and some of the scanty material can be traced back to him. That nearly the whole history of the peoples who inhabited the peninsula should have perished, excepting in so far as they came into contact with the Roman power, is of course a matter for extreme regret. But it does not closely concern our main purpose, which is to follow in the track of Roman conquest, and to discern in its principal features the municipal system in the form which was impressed upon it by Roman predominance. [When the Roman citizenship was bestowed on every town within the Italian boundaries, the general term 'municipium' was applied to each and all.] This phrase indicated, as we shall see, not absolute uniformity of

constitution, but a fairly close approximation to a single type. No doubt every one of the races of Italy had made some contribution to the form which ultimately prevailed, but only in the case of the Romans themselves, and the Latins, can separate influences be even partially traced. We shall fortunately not need to place our feet for more than one moment on the quagmire of prehistoric Italian ethnology, which all the engineering applied to it by scholarship and archaeology has failed to solidify.

Even a cursory view of the ancient remains still to be seen above ground in the Italian peninsula is sufficient to show that its inhabitants were, at a very early date, town-dwellers in a remarkable degree, compared with most other peoples of the ancient world. We shall find that this characteristic persisted in later times, for Italy in the end became more thoroughly municipalised than any other land of all those that were ever ruled by Rome. In many parts, as in Etruria, and in the mountains to the south and east of Rome, where lived the Latin, Volscian, Aequian and Hernican peoples, astonishing relics have survived of primitive fortifications which crowned not a few of the heights. Scholars dispute about the age of these defences, and doubtless the old view, that all the irregularly built walls, to which the name 'Cyclopean' was given, are of immemorial antiquity, is impossible to maintain. Still some of these structures must go back to a time beyond the first dawn of history. Certain districts of Italy have been continuously inhabited since the remotest palaeolithic age, and some of the cave-dwellers seem to have lived together in considerable groups, before the hut came into use. The earliest connected habitations, however, which can be regarded as town settlements are those which have been brought to light in recent days in the valley of the Po and elsewhere in northern Italy (with one isolated specimen on the gulf of Otranto), and are known by the name of 'terramara,' or as 'pile-dwellings.' Neither name is very precise. The men who built them must have once lived in lake-dwellings such as are known from remains discovered on the

edges of the Swiss and Italian lakes, and in some other countries; and they must have continued to build in the ancestral manner when they left the water. They had learned the use of bronze but not of iron. Many scholars have followed Helbig in his belief that these primitive towns were constructed by the Italic race, of which the Latins formed part, when they first entered Italy. Others, again, hold that they are memorials of the mysterious Etruscans, at an early stage of their residence in the peninsula. But such speculations are of no worth, since culture by itself can bear no testimony to race. The contrary belief is still an obsession of our day, as a generation ago was the persuasion that languages and races are coextensive. The 'terramara' settlements, however, show much resemblance to many of the later Italian towns. Their ground plan, excepting that its outline forms not a perfect rectangle, but a trapezoid, corresponds nearly with the scheme which was followed, where possible, when new towns were laid out in Italy during the historic age, and it is virtually the scheme of the everyday Roman military camp. When the Romans planted a colony on conquered soil, the whole of the land which was to constitute the domain of the colony was divided into rectangular segments by intersecting roads run right through it. At the centre a certain number of the segments were reserved as the site of the future town, and round these the protecting walls were built. Each of the sections outside the walls formed an allotment to be assigned to a settler. At the middle point of the town two great intersecting roads met. One of these, the more important, named the 'decumanus maximus,' ran usually, but not quite always, east and west; the other, the 'cardo maximus,' from north to south. At the intersection came the open space, the forum, devoted to public business. Gates were placed where the principal streets cut the lines of the walls. The Romans of the literary period believed that this method of construction had been taught their ancestors by the Etruscans, and that is one reason why some scholars and explorers have been ready to connect the 'terramara' culture

with that puzzling race. But while in some respects the later Romans underestimated the debt they owed to Etruria, in others they exaggerated it. The traveller who passes by the railway from Florence to Rome has only to glance at the craggy and precipitous sites which the Etruscans chose for their cities to see that they were ill adapted to the method of construction which has been described. Indeed the Etruscans probably built most of their cities where communities of the people whom they conquered had existed before them. So far as we know they were not great builders of entirely new cities. In not a few modern cities which stand on Roman sites the original rectangular plan can be traced in the lines of the streets, in Aosta, for instance, and Turin and Piacenza. But the same may be said of some of the Greek foundations, of older date than the Roman influence, such as Naples and Sorrento. The great Appian way passed along the 'decumanus maximus' of some older towns, as Calatia and Capua. It is natural to suppose that the Greeks who settled in Campania obtained their idea of town-planning from their Italic neighbours to the north. But the inference is far from certain. The influence of the celebrated town-planner Hippodamus of Miletus, who laid out the Piraeus and the city of Rhodes, and whose general principles are preserved for us by Aristotle in his *Politics*, led to the creation of new cities during Hellenistic times, not unlike the Italic towns which we have been describing. Indeed the form is natural where cities are of deliberate construction, as in America, and other new lands. The French in their North African possessions have built towns whose ground plan resembles closely that of the old Roman settlements which are there scattered far and wide. Settlements of gradual growth are naturally irregular. Such is the character of nearly all European cities excepting a few which happen to stand on ancient sites, and to have a history which began in the Roman time. When the Romans entered on their great career as builders of cities, the rectangular structure had become normal, and they were able to choose sites adapted for it, and so they

followed it in the new cities which were built throughout their empire. The work of the Roman engineers is often traceable not only in the city-limits, but in the 'territorium' outside. The boundaries or 'limites' which marked off the allotments are in some regions, as in the valley of the Po, and round about the site of the ancient Capua, still discernible. The names too of the first settlers who received allotments were attached to them for centuries afterwards. A famous endowment of the emperor Trajan is recorded on inscriptions which have survived to our day. He lent money on mortgage to the owners of land in districts of northern Italy which formed part of old colonial foundations. The interest was to be used to assist parents to rear freeborn children. The documents describe the pieces of land by names which are often derived from the names of those to whom they had been assigned when the colonies were established, many generations earlier; so persistently did the arrangements continue which marked the foundation of the cities.

A few words must now be said of the general course taken by municipal history within the limits of Italy. In one important respect the evolution of municipalities took the same direction everywhere in the ancient world. The development of fully equipped civic communities led, in East and West alike, to the attrition of nationalities. As towns grew in number and importance, common action by all the members of an old tribal unity became increasingly difficult. It is obvious that the Roman conquest of the peninsula was rendered comparatively easy by the fact that before it began the natural bonds of race had already been to a great extent loosened by the development of towns, which often loved their autonomy better than the interests of the race to which they belonged. Thus the Romans, so far as is known, never had to encounter the combined force of all the Etruscan cities, and therefore, after the great war at Veii, the victory of Rome over Etruria was no arduous task. So with the cities of the Latin League, which battled with each other to such an extent that provision was made for a 'sacred truce' at the

season when the great religious ceremonies of the League were observed. It is needless to call to mind the slightness of the resistance offered to Rome by the great Greek cities of the south, which no common danger ever induced to follow a common policy, excepting in some degree under the leadership of Pyrrhus, when success was already beyond their reach. The stoutest foes of the Romans in Italy were the races whom the municipal spirit had affected least, the Samnites and Ligurians. The disintegration of nationalities was easily completed by the Romans. They had only to isolate conquered cities, politically, from one another, and to fill up the gaps in the municipal system of Italy by the creation of new towns and the transformation of the old to a Roman or Latin pattern. By fostering the desire for municipal autonomy, and by respecting it, they easily secured their suzerainty when once achieved. The only traces which the old racial confederations left behind them are to be found in religious ceremonies.

The most rapid glance at the history of Roman expansion all over the Mediterranean lands affords abundant illustrations of the same secrets of conquest and ascendency. Wherever civilisation had fostered the growth of cities, the Roman victory was comparatively easy. The Greek passion for the independence of the 'Polis' prepared the way for the Roman advance, as in Magna Graecia, so in Sicily, as in Greece proper, so in Asia Minor. The policy of 'liberating' the Greek cities, which has often been ridiculed, was thoroughly sound, and the Romans were wise in employing against Philip V of Macedon, and Antiochus IV of Syria, a weapon which had served their purpose, almost magically, in Italy itself. Plutarch gives a vivid description of the frenzied joy with which the assembled Greeks, at the Isthmian games in the year 196, received the Roman decree that their cities were to be 'free.' The proclamation of Flamininus was in harmony with ancestral Roman tradition, and was due to no sickly philhellenic sentimentality. And in their struggle against Mithridates, the Romans suffered severely for their bad faith in not respecting the local independence of the Grecian cities

according to their promise. Even in Africa, the existence of a few important towns, like Leptis, Utica and Hadrumetum, considerably aided them in subjugating Carthage. On the other hand, in Spain, Gaul, and on the northern frontiers, the vigour of the nations who had not become town-dwellers, to any great extent, often proved perilous to the Roman power, as had the strength of peoples at a similar stage of development in Italy. But as soon as any of them were conquered, the spread among them of municipal autonomy contributed, more than anything else, to secure their loyalty. It results from what has just been said that, owing to the general character of Roman policy, we shall have but little to do with leagues of cities in the ancient world, although their history is full of interest for the modern student. Sometimes these federations were based on the principle of nationality, and represented a weakened form of an older tribal bond. Sometimes they owed their birth to other causes, such as commercial interest, or even local contiguity, of which we have an example in the great Achaean League, which shed a few rays of sunset glory over the dying history of Greek freedom. The historian Polybius, himself an Achaean statesman and general, claimed with pardonable exaggeration that this federation had made out of the whole Peloponnese a single 'Polis.' But after the advent of Rome, the effective municipal alliance was soon a thing of the past, and its former existence was only traceable in religious observances which survived after their original significance had disappeared. It was the policy of Rome not only to destroy municipal alliances, but to break up by an extension of municipalism the great domains ruled over by protected princes who acknowledged her suzerainty.

If we take the name 'Italy' in the sense which the Romans attributed to it in the later Republican age, that is to say, as comprising, roughly, the peninsula with the exception of the basin of the Po, and the mountains that immediately flank that basin to the south, we may say that the Roman ascendency over it was secured just before the great attack

on Carthage in Sicily was planned. The greater part of the soil of Italy was then divided between 130 or 140 urban communities, in alliance with Rome, which exercised over them not lordship, but rather leadership, or, as the Greeks would have called it, hegemony. The links which bound together this great confederacy were, in many respects, neither close nor organic. Hardly any of the cities had been compelled to sacrifice their internal independence. In history the lightest bonds have often proved to be the strongest, and this loosely compacted alliance was able to withstand all the efforts made by Hannibal to rend it asunder. The conquerors of Italy had made their yoke as easy as they well were able. Some of the subjected states, but by no means all, had been compelled to cede a portion of their territory. Many of the cities and peoples had come into voluntary alliance with Rome. On all alike, the 'pax Romana' was enjoined. They could no longer make war on one another; their differences had to be submitted to Roman arbitration; and they could have no foreign policy apart from Rome. These were doubtless at first often felt to be galling limitations, but the blessings of internal peace soon quieted the irritation. Then when Rome made war, or Italy was threatened, the whole confederacy was bound to service, on terms which were separately defined by compact with each community. The chief, and usually the sole, obligation imposed by treaty was to supply and maintain in case of war a contingent of stated strength, which in the early days was raised by the allies themselves without interference, and served separately in the field with an equipment of native officers, though the supreme direction of the operations was with the Roman commanders. The Greek cities of southern Italy supplied ships and the mariners needed to man them. And here it may be noted that the Roman historians have deliberately minimised and obscured the services which the Italian Greeks rendered to Rome on the sea. The Romans owed to the maritime skill and experience of their Hellenic allies a large part of their success in reducing the formidable Carthaginian naval power. They tried to

blind posterity to this fact by inventing a silly legend to the effect that their first fleet was built on the model of a Carthaginian war ship of which they became accidentally possessed. And the 'corvus' (literally 'crow') or grappling hook, which their admiral Duilius was supposed to have invented, was nothing but the 'iron hand,' used, as Thucydides tells us, in the great battles which took place in the harbour of Syracuse, when the Athenians made war on that city.

Many ancient cities strove to create for themselves an empire, but only two succeeded, Carthage and Rome. In both instances, the explanation of the success lies in the leniency with which the conquered were treated. The failures of Athens, Sparta, Syracuse and many another Greek city which entered on the same enterprise were in great part due to their lust for domination. The sapient emperor Claudius notes this fact, with regard to the Lacedaemonians and Athenians, in a speech which has been preserved. The ancient city-empires were in general far less enduring than those founded in the middle ages by Genoa and Venice. Rome subdued Italy without imposing tribute or taxation on her subjects. This gives her an almost unique position among the conquering powers of the ancient world. Until the Hannibalic war was over, local autonomy in Italy remained practically unimpaired. The sketch which I have given of Roman policy needs for its completion, as we shall presently see, certain details which will somewhat modify it, but the general impression will not be greatly affected by them. Certain it is that Rome sustained, through a good many centuries, the determination to press with as little severity as might be on a beaten foe. Had she been bent on rigour, and on exploiting the subjugated peoples for her own benefit, she would probably never have achieved ascendency even within the peninsula. During and after the Hannibalic war, when generosity to her allies became less of a political necessity to her, she began to depart from her early methods. The cruelties practised by Marcellus in Sicily, and those at which the great Scipio connived in southern Italy, caused a profound

sensation at Rome, and, strong as these generals were in aristocratic support, their careers were nearly brought to a premature close by the indignation of the burgesses at large. The evidence touching these events proves that the excitement among the citizens was caused not solely by a preference for a merciful over a cruel policy, but in part by a deep feeling that the leniency of their forefathers had alone made possible the greatness which their country had achieved. Whenever an enemy had been overcome in fair fight, he had been so treated as to render him, in no long time, a firm friend, ready to join in an attack on some new enemy who lay farther afield. Hence every fresh conquest had strengthened the conquering power, and had added to the momentum of its advance, until it became resistless. When Flamininus disappointed the enemies of Macedon by merely clipping her wings and rendering her powerless for mischief, while leaving to her a large measure of freedom within her own borders, he claimed with justice that he was following the immemorial Roman practice. Afterwards, where the old policy was abandoned, as in Liguria and in Spain, conquest proceeded slowly. But Rome, though not always true to her early principles, never exchanged them for outright despotism until her latest days, when she herself had become subservient to tyranny. During the better and the greater ages, the net result of her ascendency was to extend freedom and not to restrict it, owing to her furtherance of municipalism throughout her empire. The evidence for that aversion which the Romans felt to assuming immediate and direct control over conquered peoples is scattered widely over the earlier story of their destiny. No element in that story is more vital, and yet none has been so little appreciated or understood. Not uncommonly do we find that historians, misled by ingrained admiration of the iron hand, picture to themselves the Roman shrinking from tyrannic rule as a wilful refusal to walk in the path of manifest duty.

The visitor to Rome who for the first time examines the situation and surroundings of the city cannot fail to wonder

that its inhabitants were ever able to fight their way to empire. The advantages of the site are far from obvious. Lanciani describes its original state as "like that of Veii and Falerii, with narrow dales enclosed by craggy cliffs, shadowed by evergreens, and made damp and unhealthy by unruly rivers." The worship of the goddess 'Fever,' which continued in historic times, is often said to have been a legacy from the days when the ground was much as Lanciani describes it. But extant remains amply show that in Italy, as in Greece, the art of drainage was early developed; and it was applied continuously from a remote age, not only to the fens round about the seven hills, but to the whole region of the Campagna. Cicero praised Romulus for selecting a situation with abundant fresh springs, yet healthy in the midst of an unwholesome district, as the wind blew freely over the hills and these afforded shade to the valleys beneath. The description is defective in two ways, for the city site was even in his day a sickly one in autumn, while many parts of the Campagna now regarded as pestilential were pleasant enough residences in winter and summer alike, as is shown by the remains of sumptuous country palaces, and by the testimony of literature. It may be mentioned that Strabo gives a description of the site of ancient Rome which agrees better with that by Lanciani than with the sketch by Cicero. The position of Rome, almost midway between the sea and the Alban heights, resembles that of many Greek cities which rose to fame. It was far enough from the shore to render raids from the sea difficult; while it was near enough to become an emporium for maritime imports. The traffic up and down the Tiber, to and from the sea, was important even in the imperial period. The trade in salt, obtained from lagoons on the Latin coast, was of great consequence to the early Romans. It was carried along the old 'salt road' (*via Salaria*), which was the most ancient leading out from Rome and penetrated deep into Italy. Commerce contributed far more to Rome's rise than is commonly supposed, and the ancient Romans and Italians were keen traders all through their history. But the peril to Rome

from enemies near at hand was incessant. The opposite bank of the Tiber was held by the wealthy and powerful Etruscans, and bore down to the latest time the name of the 'Tuscan shore'; the Tiber, too, was often called 'Tuscan.' Even in some places on the left bank the Etruscan power was planted. Round the nearest hills, the Alban, and between them and Rome, lay the Latin settlements, held by men closely akin to the Romans, and connected with them by many ties, which, however, were not always strong enough to insure amity. A little further away were bitter foes of Latins and Romans alike, the Aequians, Volscians and others. The pressure and menace of external enemies forced Rome to perfect a rigid military and civil organisation which in the end proved irresistible, and led on to final victory through many an intermediate defeat.

The seven hills of Rome offered defensible positions which were used by primitive people long before the age of town settlements, as we see from prehistoric tombs and other remains which have come to light on the Esquiline hill, in the forum and elsewhere. The Romans of the classic age believed that the most primitive Rome had been created at a stroke by Romulus on the Palatine mount, and the ritual which was observed in later days on the foundation of towns was presumed to have been followed by him. It has been described in terms not altogether clear or consistent by Varro, Livy and other ancient writers, but its principal features are certain. Inquiry was made of the divine will by augury, and a propitious day was chosen. A bull and a cow were yoked to a plough (of bronze) and a furrow was drawn to mark the city limits. A deep ditch was dug on this line and the earth taken from it was piled up on the inner side. The ditch (*fossa*) and the earthwork formed the barriers which were to protect the settlement. From military considerations, to facilitate defence, a certain clear open space was left on both sides of the rampart. This space is called the *pomerium*, a word whose derivation and original significance were disputed by Roman antiquarians and are still disputed. The name for

city, *urbs*, was by some connected with *urvus* (or *urvum*), an antique word by which in the ritual the ploughshare was denoted. Others regarded it as a form of *orbis*, which they curiously applied to the supposed square circumference of the new town. It will be noticed that the rite appears at first sight to be older than the date at which stone fortifications were in use. But many of these at Latium, as elsewhere in Italy, seem to be of immemorial antiquity. The earthen *murus*, which in the camp was called *vallum*, survived to a late time as a city fortification, and, as mentioned in the ritual, must be taken to indicate the irreducible minimum of protection needed for a nascent town. In some instances in Italy the earthern rampart, strengthened by stakes as in the camp, or by loose stone linings, remained even at the date of the Social war.

In the time of Ennius 'Roma quadrata,' 'square Rome,' was the name given to the original Palatine settlement; but the antiquarians of the early empire invented for the expression another signification. From first to last religion played a great part in the foundation of Italic towns. Everywhere city walls and boundary stones, whether in town or country, were specially placed under divine protection. In the legend of Romulus and Remus the contempt shown by Remus for the sacred wall which his brother had raised forms the justification for his death, and traces of the sanctity of city fortifications remained to a late age. The pomerium had an especially close connexion with religious ceremony and with the public life which in the earliest days was interpenetrated by religious forms. Originally, in all probability, boundary stones marked off both its edges. The direction of the Palatine pomerium at the foot of the hill was known to Tacitus, and was kept in memory by an archaic ceremony. Every year the priests called Luperci, to whose office clung traces of remote antiquity, made a procession along its line. In recent times certain portions of a stone wall have been laid bare, which seem to be not older than the third or fourth century B.C. But this wall very likely ran along, or nearly

along, the line of the original fortification. Varro knew several gates of this ancient town and has recorded their names. As the Palatine hill was continuously inhabited, all traces of the primitive structure of the interior of the settlement were effaced, either by the levelling of the ground for new buildings, or by the accumulation of soil over the surface. But the little antique settlement at Antemnae, four miles away, where the Tiber is joined by the Anio, was not long since excavated, and is probably of about the same age as the primitive Palatine town, and so may afford a parallel. It was on a hill defended in part by walls, in part by a river front, in part by cliffs. The civilisation belonged to the age of bronze. It is thought that the area enclosed by the irregular circuit of the defences was much larger than was needed to accommodate the inhabitants, who may have stalled their flocks nightly within. Doubtless the huts were circular and of straw, like the 'hut of Romulus' (*casa Romuli*), which reverent care in later days maintained on the Palatine hill. The round temples of Vesta in Rome and elsewhere preserved the form of this habitation. The primitive peoples who dwelt on the Alban mount and in some other regions sometimes interred the ashes of their dead in receptacles of the same form, which may be seen in the museums of Italy.

Such was the infancy of the great imperial city. All the traditions connected with it were cherished and embroidered by the chroniclers and poets in later days. Augustus, who cunningly used for his own political ends the memories of ancient glories, showed a sound instinct when he connected himself and his line with Romulus by planting the imperial abode on the Palatine mount, which became in an especial sense the centre of the empire. There has been, and still is, much debate among scholars concerning the further stages through which the city passed before reaching its full dimensions. One thing only is certain, that what the Greeks called a 'Synoikismos,' or amalgamation of separate communities, was gradually brought about. The defences assigned by legend to Servius Tullius were the latest that were built

before Aurelian in the third Christian century reared the fortifications, of which remains, patched and repaired by his successors, are conspicuous in the Rome of to-day. It is thought by some that the Palatine city was succeeded by one which brought seven districts into close alliance. A religious ceremony of antique character called 'Septimontium,' 'the festival of the seven mounts,' was celebrated right down into the fifth century of the empire, and it seems to be connected with an enlarged second Rome. The seven 'montes' were not all hills in the proper sense. One of them was the 'Cermalus,' really a portion of the Palatine mount, which was not entirely covered by the primitive city. The Subura and Fagutal were valleys. Yet in the ceremony the dwellers in all these seven regions were contrasted as 'hill-men' (*montani*) with the 'country-dwellers' (*pagani*), who seem to have lived outside the walls, though participating in the privileges of the city, to have occupied in fact what would later have been called the city's 'territorium.' It is worth while to dwell for a moment on the 'pagus' from which the name 'pagani' is derived. We find mentions of 'pagi' in connexion with Rome and many other towns and districts of Italy, and they also existed in the provinces in the time of the empire. Although the meaning of the term is not everywhere the same, the 'pagus' in Italy was a rudimentary form of municipal organisation consisting of a rural territory, with quasi-civic institutions, such as magistracies with varying titles (not according with the municipal designations), temples, priests, and other amenities of a city. Under the empire the 'pagus' came even to be recognised like the town proper as a corporation, capable of holding endowments. In Italy at least, when the municipal system was fully developed, the 'pagus' was ordinarily part of the 'territorium' of a town. But sometimes the memory and title of a 'pagus' cut across the later municipal arrangements. Thus one name of the Subura was 'pagus Sucusanus,' and this seems to indicate that it had been a rural district belonging to a city earlier than that of the 'Septimontium.' In some places we find the 'pagus' retaining its individuality,

although its land is divided between the 'territoria' of two or even three cities. Many of the towns sprang from a combination of 'pagi' just as Greek towns came into existence by the union of the 'kômai,' which much resembled the Italian 'pagi.' When the city of Capua was deprived of its municipal institutions by the Romans, the 'pagi' of the city's territory still exercised their very limited autonomy, as is attested by numerous inscriptions. The religious ceremonies of the 'pagus,' called 'paganalia,' were at all times popular, and these are doubtless connected with the evil repute which Christianity fastened on the name 'pagan.' One important piece of ritual was the annual 'lustratio pagi,' or purificatory ceremony, accompanied by a survey of the boundaries, which were especially protected by religious sanctions.

The third Roman city appears to have consisted of four districts; of which the seven divisions of the city of the Septimontium formed one; with this exception, that the Subura was now united with the Caelian hill to form one district; while the Quirinal and Viminal were the other divisions. The Capitol was perhaps an outlying citadel belonging to this community. The original independence of the Quirinal was marked by the fact that the title 'mons' was never applied to it; 'collis' was its designation. Like the first and second cities, this third city left traces in some of the archaic religious observances of the historic age. The pomerium of the town of the four districts remained the pomerium of Rome down to the time of Sulla, although a fourth city had been created. This is the famous so-called 'Servian' city, which was the latest of the ancient Romes. At first much of the ground enclosed within its limits must have been uninhabited. This is especially recorded of the Aventine hill. Much later, particularly on the eastern side, there remained open spaces with sacred groves attached to shrines. But by the end of the Republic the growing population had spread up to the walls and begun to occupy ground beyond them. A sign of growth is to be found in the existence of an extraordinary number of city gates, of which the elder Pliny said there were thirty-seven in his time.

The excavations of recent years have brought to light many fragments of the fortifications, and have added much information about them to the scanty details which literature has recorded. The remains are not all the work of the same age, and show that the 'Servian' enceinte, after it came into existence, was frequently repaired. Archaeologists now hold that none of the remnants that have come to light are of earlier date than the fourth century B.C. But no cogent argument has been advanced which disproves the supposition that these later defences may have followed, or nearly followed, the line of ruder ramparts belonging to a more primitive time. The walls, of squared stones, took advantage of the slopes of the hills; and the Tiber bank for some way was strengthened and taken into the scheme. But where valleys or table lands had to be crossed, a different kind of structure was used, to which the name 'agger' was given. This was a high, broad earthwork strengthened greatly by stone on the outer, and later on the inner side. The greatest piece of work of this kind was on the Esquiline and is the Servian 'agger' par excellence. Its top, a hundred feet broad, was a public promenade in the time of Horace, but by then the stone walls had in the main disappeared, and a writer a little later says that they were hard to find.

What was the extent of the original municipal domain of Rome, its 'territorium,' to give it the technical designation of later days? We are not left without some indications which afford a partial answer, owing to the extraordinary tenacity with which in their sacral and political practice the Romans clung to the forms of a remote antiquity. The expression 'Roman domain' (*ager Romanus*) continued to bear a technical meaning right down into the imperial age which it must have derived from a time earlier than the institution of the Republican form of government. The only question that can reasonably be raised is whether this earliest traceable 'Roman domain' was the municipal estate of the 'Servian' city or of some earlier form of Rome. There are some indications drawn from surviving usage which make it not unlikely that the city

to which this territory was attached was the city of the 'Septimontium.' Every year in May the members of the venerable College of the 'Arval Brothers' (*fratres Arvales*), whose ritual bore a deep prehistoric imprint, carried out the 'Ambarvalia,' literally 'a perambulation of the fields,' in which they passed along the boundaries of this ancient dominion. The limit of their course in one direction, towards the coast at Laurentum, was the sixth milestone, where they sacrificed a piacular victim which had been led round the circuit of the 'ager.' This particular milestone was also connected with the ancient ceremony of the 'Terminalia,' a religious celebration designed to secure the sanctity of boundary marks. On the west the limit for some way must have been the Tiber; in other directions the extent cannot be ascertained. It is not certain whether the Janiculum beyond the river, which was early in possession of the city, and was long its chief fortress outside the walls, came within this 'ager Romanus,' and it is not likely that the domain extended down the Tiber to Ostia, though that place was an old Roman property. An antique religious ceremony called 'Robigalia' was celebrated at the fifth milestone on the 'via Claudia' to the north-west, beyond the river. But this district did not come into Roman hands till Veii was conquered.

In early days, and far into the historic time, many religious and political acts were only valid if performed within the bounds of this 'Roman estate.' Such were the taking of some of the principal auspices and the nomination of a dictator by a consul. As Rome's power advanced, the inconvenience of these restrictions was felt and was obviated in a characteristic Roman manner by the use of fiction. When necessity arose, a piece of land at a distance was consecrated and became for the nonce a part of the 'Roman estate,' and the necessary act was rendered technically valid. But until the Republic was dying, this fiction was never enacted outside Italy. Then Pompey doubtless used it when, after being driven from the peninsula, he established on the other side of the Adriatic a mockery of Rome, with

Senate and other institutions complete. Even the 'territoria' of Italian towns to which the full citizenship was given were never included in this technical Roman domain. Yet for all but a few ceremonial practices, most of which had no importance after the era of the Hannibalic war, the inclusion might well have been made. In all practical legal aspects, the land of towns in Italy, inhabited by Roman burgesses, was on a level with land which lay within the old 'ager Romanus,' according to the strict technical meaning of the phrase. This legal equality was never extended to Roman towns outside Italy, except by special privilege. The favoured place received what was called the 'right of Italian soil' (*ius soli Italici*), which enabled its land to be held and conveyed according to the forms of Roman law. But in ordinary parlance, 'ager Romanus' must have been used to denote the gradually expanding domain within which the burgesses dwelt, until that domain included the peninsula. By more than one ancient writer this signification is given to the expression. In passing, it may be observed that the 'Roman estate' (*ager Romanus*), even in popular usage, is not the same as 'the public estate' (*ager publicus*). The latter is that part of the dominions ruled by Rome which was the property of the Roman burgesses at large. In the midst of it there would be islands, so to speak, forming the territories of particular municipalities, or the estates of individual owners who had received allotments. Most municipalities throughout the empire held possessions which were analogous to the Roman 'publicus ager.' If we possessed records of the history of Italian towns before Roman sovereignty was established we should of a surety find that these, like Rome, were troubled at times by quarrels arising out of the management of their 'public estates.' That there was an agrarian question in many Italic towns in the time of the Gracchi, similar to that which agitated Rome, seems highly probable, and this may throw light on the attitude of the Latins and Italians towards the Gracchan legislation.

# CHAPTER III

## ROME AND ITALY (B)

We must now proceed to consider the gradual advance of Rome to the goal which she only reached with Caesar's victory over Pompey, or, perhaps it would be truer to say, in the reign of Augustus, the unification of Italy and the final creation of an Italian nation, which held in some sort a distinct and separate place in the empire for two or three centuries. In her progress, Rome had to meet communities which were not isolated but grouped in federations, for the most part loosely organised. She herself was at one time merely a member of an equal union of cities inhabited by the Latin race to which she belonged. Her relations with this circle of towns were of prime importance to her in the early period of her development, and we must deal with them a little later in some detail. It is certain that the Latins retained more cohesion among themselves and more frequently made common cause than other peoples after their tribal unity had been weakened by the adoption of municipal life. The races whom Rome successively overcame were in different stages of municipal evolution when she came into contact with them. The great early enemy of the Latins was the Etruscan power, which, long after it was pushed back beyond the northern bank of the Tiber by the destruction of Veii in 395 B.C., confronted Rome not far across the river. The civilisation of Etruria was far advanced while Rome was still feeble, but for that very reason the cities there offered a comparatively weak resistance to her growing strength; and the more so that the Roman assaults

coincided with attacks from Gaulish and other foes. The same was true of the ancient Umbrian people, who were often hard pressed by Etruscans and Gauls on either side of them. Among the other Italic tribes akin to the Latins, three groups may be distinguished. Those who lay nearest, the Sabines Volscians, Aequians, Hernicans, Rutulians and Aurunci, resembled the Latins more than the Etruscans in the nature of their municipal alliances, and conquest in this region proceeded slowly on the whole, though without a break. The Oscan-speaking peoples, the Samnites and their kindred in central Italy, whose culture was more primitive, tried to the utmost the strength of the Roman confederacy, and there were times when the final issue appeared to hang in the balance. The third group, consisting of the Lucanians and the Bruttians of the South, who were offshoots of the Oscan-speaking people, with the Messapians of Apulia, who spoke another dialect, were subjugated with comparative ease, partly because they had been deeply affected by the Hellenic civilisation of the South, with which they were long in close touch, and partly because they had worn themselves out and the Greeks as well by age-long conflicts. Greeks and Oscans met also in Campania, which was early a land of prosperous cities, and this region, from similar causes, rapidly succumbed to the Romans. But with the barbarous Ligurians in the mountain districts above the Riviera, Rome carried on a contest which was not brought to a final conclusion for two centuries in the age of Augustus; and the other barbarians on the fringes of the Po valley were only at last brought under full Roman control by the same emperor. The Romans had subdued all the Mediterranean lands before they made themselves masters in large portions of their own proper house, the Italian peninsula. And it is easily seen that their rate of progress greatly depended on the degree to which the municipal system had been developed among the Italian peoples.

When we speak of the unification of Italy, we must bear in mind that it was not until the age of Caesar that the name 'Italia' was used officially to denote the whole of the peninsula

from the straits of Messina to the Alps, though in popular language this signification was sometimes employed a century earlier, for example, by Polybius. When the Samnite enemies of Rome and some of their kinsfolk at the outbreak of the Social War created for themselves new political institutions and in fact organised a new state, they placed the word 'Vitelliu' on their coins. This is the Oscan and probably the original form of Italia, and it indicates that in the central part of the peninsula at the time the name was held to belong to the region where Oscan was spoken. The earliest emergence of the title 'Italia' is in Greek writers, by whom it was applied to a small district in the south. Gradually, in literature and in political usage, it spread northwards. Near the middle of the third century B.C. the frontier of Italy was advanced to Ariminum (Rimini) on the north-east and to a point nearly corresponding in latitude on the north-west. Beyond this line was a foreign land which had to be subdued and civilised in the same manner as Gaul beyond the Alps or Spain. When the Romans first advanced into the valley of the Po, its aspect was far different from that which it has now. Large parts of it were occupied by swamps and forests. Cities in it were mainly of Roman creation. A thousand years of toil were needed after the first operations of Roman engineers to enable it to become one of the most highly cultivated regions of Europe.

Of the many varieties of town which Italy must at one time have possessed, only two, as we have said, survived into the imperial period, and these two were copied outside Italy, and spread over all western lands, and to some small extent in the countries of the Orient as well. These types were the Roman and the Latin, which resembled each other greatly but differed in some particulars which are of importance for the history of the Roman power. The process by which these two models prevailed over all other models within the peninsula was in all essential features the same as that by which they were distributed far and wide in the western provinces. But both inside and outside Italy the Latin form was destined to

give place to the Roman. In the peninsula, except in the barbarous mountain valleys of the north, it disappeared with the supremacy of Caesar. And after Caracalla, the empire contained no city, whether in East or West, which was not nominally Roman. This evolution in its earliest stages can only be conceived in its leading features. The tradition of that part of the Roman story which lies beyond the First Punic War is notoriously defective. But even that early era is not quite so dark as is often imagined. At least a careful study of Italian towns enables us to reach the broad underlying facts of that chapter of Roman expansion which ended with the earliest crossing of a Roman army into Sicily.

From the elder Pliny and some other writers we get some vague information of towns in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, which were absorbed by her in her advance, and lost all independence and individuality. Among these was the little settlement of Antemnae, to which some reference has been already made. Many tales were told by the Romans of the effacement of early towns and the transportation of their inhabitants to Rome or its neighbourhood, with the annexation of their territories. There is little of genuine tradition and much of late speculation in these narratives. The most famous of them is that of the destruction of Alba Longa, on the 'Mons Albanus.' Readers of Virgil know how it was built by Ascanius the son of Aeneas, and of Livy that it was destroyed by Tullus Hostilius, the fourth of the seven kings. Its legendary history was linked with the myth of Romulus. A number of Roman families in the later Republic were proud to trace their origin to Alba. Yet it can scarcely be believed that a city such as the legends picture ever existed on the mountain. The remains which have been brought to light are, according to the best authorities, all of the epoch to which the north Italian 'terramara' settlements belong. An extensive burial ground yielded objects characteristic of that class of settlement, but somewhat more advanced in type, including funeral urns in the form of huts. No doubt as soon as the Latins settled round the Alban mountain, they began, after the

fashion of early peoples, to regard its summit as a sacred spot. It is a widespread primitive idea that to climb as far as may be in the direction of the sky is to get nearer to the mysterious abode of the gods. The sanctity of this mountain was guarded by ritual until the days of Christianity. But there is no evidence to show that it was ever occupied by a town of the stamp of the Latin historical town. The imagination of Alba as a dominant city and the mother of all Latin towns could only have grown up after the ascendency of Rome was secured by the issue of the great Latin war in the fourth century B.C. It was not the only legend of the kind. One version represented the ancient town of Lavinium, another great Latin religious centre, as the mother city of all the Latin cities, and, if our record of the local legends were complete, we should have other variations of the theme. An argument that has been advanced in favour of the traditional story of Alba is that there was a district called 'Albanus ager,' which was not attached to any of the later municipalities, and may represent the 'territorium' of the ancient city. The conclusion is not necessary. Many primitive towns on the sides of the mountain or near it disappeared, and this 'ager' may just as well be the domain of one or more of these communities. As sacral institutions in ancient society were far more persistent than political, a number of these vanished towns were in the late age only traceable by priesthoods and cults which survived. It so happens that the priests who were specially connected with the mountain were not called 'Alban' but 'sacerdotes Cabenses,' who have left inscriptions behind them. The Roman antiquarians believed that there had been an ancient town close by called Caba. The only town besides Rome which in the historic age claimed any hereditary connexion with Alba was the little place called Bovillae, whose inhabitants were proud to call themselves 'Albani Longani Bovillenses.'

Whatever may be the truth about the destruction of Alba and other primitive communities by Rome, the true history of Rome as an expanding power begins, not with the rasing of

towns, but with their preservation, and their entrance into enforced or voluntary alliance with her. Perhaps a treaty concluded in the dim dawn of history with the town of Gabii, halfway between Rome and Praeneste (Palestrina), may be taken as the starting-point of the great Roman march towards imperial ascendency. Livy's romantic tale is familiar, how "false Sextus," the son of Tarquin the Proud, treacherously obtained the confidence of the men of Gabii and then betrayed the town to his father. In after days the consciousness remained that the treaty with Gabii, however gained, marked an epoch in the expansion of Rome. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who wrote about the middle of the first century A.D., the venerable text of the treaty was still preserved in the temple of Sancus, one of the most archaic of divinities. It was written on a bull's hide, and the bull had been the victim in the religious rite which gave sanctity to the compact. Horace seems to have known of this venerable document, for he speaks of "treaties made on fair terms with Gabii and the stern Sabines." Other facts show that the association between Rome and Gabii was intimate in times far remote. Some features of ancient ritual were held to have been borrowed by Rome from this, perhaps her earliest, ally. When a new town was founded, although the accompanying ceremonies were generally held to be of Etruscan origin, sacred law required that the augur who accompanied the plough as it traced out the line of the future walls should wear his toga in a manner imported from Gabii, and named 'the Gabine girth' (*cinctus Gabinus*); and this same fashion was necessary on certain ceremonial occasions in which other officers than the augur were concerned. The territory of Gabii, after it had ceased, in all secular aspects, to be distinguishable from the Roman, held a special position in the augural discipline. Down to the age of Horace, and the age of Juvenal, and far beyond, the place retained its municipal constitution, but was a byword for its desolation. Yet the evidence shows that, at first, its alliance with Rome was a matter of consequence to the greater state. The saying of

Propertius may be true, that the men of Gabii were once "a mighty crowd" (*maxima turba*) as things went in those days. Traces of other early alliances with cities not far afield from Rome existed in the later time. One important place thus early connected seems to have been Ardea, on the Latin coast, an old foundation of the Rutulian people. At Capena, in southern Etruria, once a dependency of the Etruscan Veii, but possibly at first a Latin foundation, there was in imperial times a Roman burgess community, which boasted that the town had possessed a federal alliance with Rome in the dim ancestral time. Another place with which Rome was connected in very early years by compact was Lavinium. Its connexion with the legend of Aeneas is familiar. It was a great religious centre of the old tribal league of the Latins. Down to a very late time, we are told, the consuls every year, a few days after they had celebrated the great Latin festival (*feriae Latinae*) on the Alban mount, went through the form of renewing an ancient treaty with Lavinium. Yet, curiously, there is a doubt, as we found in the case of Alba, whether Lavinium was ever a town in a real sense. There is another story that a treaty with Laurentum was annually renewed, and this may be the true version. In the historical age there was no municipality at Lavinium but only a hallowed site with its temple of Venus, and sacred domain round about. The municipality of Laurentum had a close connexion with the shrine, and its citizens called themselves 'Laurentes Lavinates.' Lavinium was therefore an expression for a part of the territory of Laurentum. If our records were more complete, we should no doubt know of many early agreements of lasting import between Rome and neighbouring cities. The petty states must have made war and bargained for peace exactly in the fashion of the wider states of later ages. But the time came when Rome had power to force the other Latin cities to submit to her hegemony. The date at which this took place formed an important turning point, indeed the most important of all turning points, in the history of the conquering city. It marked the end of the first stage in the progress towards universal empire. It

has been truly said by a great authority that the Italic confederacy at the head of which Rome encountered Hannibal was only an expansion of the Latin League under Roman hegemony, and that the Roman empire was only an expansion of that Italic confederacy. The early history, so far as it can be traced, of the Latin League is a matter of no slight interest, not only on this account, but because it is the only one of the ancient Italic leagues to which we find in extant literature much more than casual reference.

All the rudimentary confederacies in Italy were at first sacral and tribal. The same was the case with the unions which in Greece were called by the name 'Amphiktyony,' literally 'an association of dwellers round about.' A number of such associations in Hellas retained their primitive character to the end. Indeed only two of these Hellenic unions obtained any wide influence in secular affairs, or were able to any great extent to expand and to efface tribal distinctions; the two which had Delphi and Delos for their centres. Yet even in the earliest times their religious influence must occasionally have extended into the political sphere. Penalties pronounced by the whole membership against individual members for breaches of sacred usage must have often been enforced by arms. It was largely in this manner that the authority of the Delphic Amphiktyony was extended and maintained. Common association in religion, fortified by the sense of blood relationship, would tend to bring about association in worldly affairs. The obscure evidence bearing upon the secular side of the old Latin League must be briefly examined. The confused and contradictory tales of wars and treaties which the Roman annalists referred to the monarchical period are mostly of late invention. The Latin towns in a body are represented as being repeatedly at variance with Rome, and two of the kings as laying onerous conditions upon them. The last monarch of Etruscan blood, Tarquin the Proud, is the legendary founder of the great central rite of the Latin race, the 'Latiar,' or worship offered to Jupiter Latiaris on the summit of the Alban hill. Later, the Latins joined, it was

said, in the attempt to restore the Etruscan dynasty and were beaten at lake Regillus. The erection of the Capitoline temple of Jupiter was also attributed by some annalists to the last Tarquin, and an attempt has been made to bring this foundation into connexion with the story of the 'Latiar,' so as to prove that at that date Rome controlled already the whole league. If the earliest treaty with Carthage, which Polybius referred to the very first year of the Republic, was rightly dated by him, some light would be cast on the relations then subsisting between Rome and Latium. It was written, he tells us, in Latin so antique as to be difficult of understanding. In it there appeared by name as Roman allies the people of Ardea, Antium, Laurentum, Circeii and Tarracina, and there was an indefinite reference to others. The cities whose names are given are all on or near the coast, and it is doubtful whether any of them, excepting Laurentum, were in Latin hands at the beginning of the Republican period. The date 348 has been preferred by many authorities; even that is not without difficulty. The one date is too early, the other too late. The treaty can only be taken as indicating that in the half-century from 400 to 350 B.C. a community of maritime interests had been established between Rome and the towns mentioned, and in such matters she was authorised to speak in their name, and that citizens of inland cities in alliance with Rome were allowed certain trading privileges in the Carthaginian dominions, and were bound by certain restrictions.

A treaty said to have been made in 493 with all the Latins by Spurius Cassius, the legendary demagogue, has been the subject of much discussion. There was a bronze pillar in the Roman forum, behind the rostra, incised with ancient letters, still existing in the time of Cicero, which was supposed to contain its provisions. Criticism of the accounts of it which have come down to us shows that most likely it belonged to a time not much earlier than the great Latin war. The attribution of it to a remoter antiquity by Romans in the age of Cicero and in that of Dionysius was easy. A principal

feature of the monument appears to have been that it enumerated forty-seven communities which had the right of participating in the great festival called the 'Latiar.' At the time when the so-called treaty of Cassius seems to have been drawn up, it was necessary to have an authoritative list, because there had come into existence Latin cities which had no right to participate in the great religious ceremony. And this fact is closely connected with the story of Latin colonisation, which again is intimately bound up with the whole tale of Roman conquest. The alleged incorporation of all the Hernican towns in the Romano-Latin alliance of 493 is also obviously legendary. It is easy to see some reasons why the existence of common political relations between Rome on the one side, and the entire circles of Latin and Hernican towns on the other, was antedated. Romans, Latins and Hernicans had common enemies in the Aequians, Volscians and others, and a natural inference was that they must have had a common organisation during their war against these foes. So far as the Latins were concerned, it was difficult for scholars of later times to realise that the participation of a number of cities in religious ritual did not imply some kind of political union among them. But in Italy, as in Greece, the members of the religious associations were often at war with one another. In Greece, the armistice for religious purposes is familiar, and an early statute of the Latin League is preserved which requires that war between its members should cease at the time when the annual religious ceremonies were to be performed.

During the early centuries of Rome's advance, all the Italic peoples were striving to occupy fresh territory, and were throwing off swarms which endeavoured to establish themselves in new abodes. This is the solid truth that lies behind the embroidered legends of age-long wars between the Latin, Aequian, Volscian, Hernican and other peoples. We can dimly discern in the annalistic tradition the changing fortunes of the conflicts engendered by the universal impulse towards colonisation, or in other words, towards the establishment of new city-commonwealths on conquered soil. It is

particularly clear that the Volscian people at one time encroached considerably on regions which had been earlier occupied by Latins. Several ancient Latin settlements, Antium for instance, passed for a time into Volscian hands. This colonisation was racial, not municipal; that is to say, it did not proceed definitely from single cities. In this it differed from the colonial enterprise of Hellas in the historic ages, when new foundations were generally originated by the separate city-states, though there are examples of co-operation. In Italy, before the age of the Roman burgess-colony, no Italic city, that is to say, no non-Greek city in Italy, could truly trace its existence to any single Italic community, though many early adopted myths of a Greek or Trojan or Alban foundation. Before Rome stepped in, Italy, excepting where the Greeks and Etruscans had occupied it, was in the same stage of development as that through which the Greeks had passed before the great colonial undertakings of cities like Miletus, Corinth and Chalcis, were carried out. [The leagues, held together by tribal and religious sympathies alone, were the originators of colonising movements.] Among the Italic peoples, as among the Greeks, colonisation was connected with religion. A familiar late Hellenic survival of the connexion is afforded by the practice of seeking counsel from the Delphic god, before a decision was taken to plant a new Hellenic community in a barbarian land. We have already seen how rigidly religious, in another way, were the formalities attendant on the establishment of a new Italic town. Among the Oscan-speaking peoples, there was an elaborate ceremony known as the 'sacred spring' (*ver sacrum*), by which, among other quaint forms, men in their infancy were dedicated to the service of the great god Mavors, Mamers or Mars, the god of youth, spring and battle, and were thereby bound, on reaching maturity, to descend from the mountains and conquer for themselves a new habitation. In this way originated the invading tides which, in the fifth century and after, overwhelmed many of the Greek settlements in Campania, and in southern Italy brought on, generation

after generation, conflicts which sapped the once splendid prosperity of the Greek cities and made easy the way for the Roman to bring under his yoke all the combatants together.

The league of Latins must have made in prehistoric times, after settling on the slopes of the Alban hills, efforts to expand its territory. Essentially, Rome itself must be regarded as a colonial foundation of the Latin race. The Roman annalists and antiquarians were apt to think that every Latin community which lay far away from the roots of the Alban mount had owed its origin to Roman initiative. This was natural, as they considered that the policy of the whole Latin race had been directed by Rome even in the time of the monarchy. When we examine the dim and confused tradition of the years that follow the destruction of Rome by the Gauls we can discern one or two striking facts. In the first place this time was not, as might be imagined from the literary sources, a period of depression for the Roman power, but one of steady advance. Within a decade after the Gaulish invasion, Rome had pushed back the Etruscans as far as the Ciminian Forest, and had also advanced her frontiers in the south at the expense of the Volscian people, and had made considerable annexations in both directions. In relation to these events a new chapter in the history of Latin colonisation begins. On what was now the extreme northern frontier, two new Latin fortresses, Sutrium and Nepete, were established to control the routes by which an invasion from the north might most naturally be apprehended. For three quarters of a century these strong places marked the northern limit of the Roman dominions, and were to the Roman power what Ariminum was at a later time. Similarly a new Latin fortified settlement was created on the slope of the Volscian hills in the south at Setia. These new towns were established rather in the interest of Rome than of the Latins. They were the first to which the duty was assigned of protecting Roman conquests. This new policy was not carried further for half a century, when the Romans first made good their footing in Campania.

After that there was a continuous creation for a century and a half of Latin fortresses, due to Rome, and destined to the same end as Sutrium, Nepete and Setia. The whole number was about twenty-seven, and the latest foundation of this class was Aquileia, which was established in 181 B.C. When Rome instituted a new type of Latin town, standing in a novel relation with herself, it was natural that the old religious league should also change its policy. Hence these Romano-Latin military settlements, with the apparent exception of Setia, were not received within the old sacral circle, and did not participate in the great ceremony in honour of Jupiter Latiaris. But for a good many years after the capture of Rome by the Gauls, Latium seems to have been in a turmoil. The Latin towns attacked Rome, not unitedly, but one by one, or in small combinations, and sometimes obtained aid from non-Latin cities or even from the Gauls, whose raids continued as far south as Campania. In the years 361 and 360 B.C., it is said, battles between Gauls and Romans took place near Rome itself. About 358 B.C. a general peace was concluded, and probably for the first time Rome entered into a common political compact with all, or nearly all, the Latin cities. Possibly the ravages of the Gaulish barbarians proved to be the compelling cause of the agreement. The conditions of the treaty were probably those which Dionysius referred to the arrangement concluded, as he imagined, by Spurius Cassius in 493. The terms constituted an offensive and defensive alliance. Some towns which either were of non-Latin origin, or had passed at times out of Latin keeping, were included in the alliance, Velitrae for instance, the sometime Volscian stronghold which lay nearest to Rome, and Antium, of which the Volscians at times had control, and a little later, the ancient city of Praeneste, which was at first a settlement of the Aequian people. Its fame was great and of old date, and among Italic towns its early importance was next to that of Rome itself. Its relics prove that it had an old and remarkable civilisation, reaching back to the eighth or seventh century.

Praeneste is represented by tradition as having been previously in conflict with Rome, and it appears that some smaller towns were dependent on it. Roman writers tell us that another important place, Tusculum, was detached from its connexion with the other Latin cities as early as 381 B.C. and formed an intimate union with Rome, receiving by the generosity of the Romans the full rights of Roman citizenship. But this result has been probably antedated. It is significant that in the period which just immediately precedes the creation of the Romano-Latin alliance in 358 B.C. we hear for the first time of military officers appointed to command united Latin forces. These in their number (two) and in their name (*praetores*) imitate the chief magistracy of the Roman state as it was at the time. This new organisation may have been directed against the Gauls rather than the Romans. In later days, a curious reminiscence survived of these independent commanders. Sometimes, when a Roman general was refused a triumph at Rome, he celebrated a triumph on the Alban mount, by virtue of being a Latin as well as a Roman general.

The story of the years 345—338 B.C., as told by the ancient writers, is confused and interwoven with legend; but events took place which can be clearly discerned, and are of the first importance. The Romans were enabled to cross the Volturnus and establish their power in Campania. In that country Greeks were yielding to Samnites, who about 424 B.C. had descended from the mountains and possessed themselves of Capua and its territory. But these Oscan-speaking settlers in the plains were now at variance with their kinsmen in the mountains, and were glad to seek the protection of the warriors from the north. Capua, with its dependent towns, Atella, Calatia and Sabata, entered into alliance with Rome. The first struggle between Romans and Samnites thus came about, but had hardly any enduring effect. Then followed the momentous war with the Latin allies, in the years 340—338 B.C. We may accept the tradition that the war was preceded by a demand on the part of the Latins for some

kind of organic union with Rome. The details which the ancient writers give are doubtless inexact, but they are interesting. If the Latins demanded that one consul must henceforth be a Latin, and half the senators Latin, they were making one of the very few proposals which, in ancient Roman history, embodied even to a slight degree the principle of representation. A claim that Latins should be admissible to offices in Rome is intelligible, but we must suppose that the Latin towns were still to retain their communal government. Not all the Latin cities joined in the war that ensued. But some communities of the Volscian and other peoples assisted the Latins. The Romans had an easy and, for those days, a speedy victory. The agreement with Capua was threatened, but not seriously, during the struggle. In the whole area over which the combat raged, Rome never had again to face a revolt of any great extent, even when, stung by injustice, a large number of her Italian allies turned upon her in 90 B.C. Her incursions into Campania brought important Greek cities into alliance with her, and she was glad to concede to them favourable terms. Neapolis (Naples) was the first non-Italic community in the peninsula to enter into free alliance, in 326 B.C.; and in 311 Nola followed, and Nuceria in 308. Nola had two dependencies, Abella and Hyria; while Nuceria was the centre of a small league, of which Pompeii, Herculaneum, Stabiae and Surrentum were the other members. As the cities of the rich Campanian land had voluntarily entered into political union with Rome, they lost none of their estates, and no colonies were planted on them till after the Hannibalic war. The united municipal territories of these Campanian cities must have been at least as great in extent as the municipal territory of Rome at the time; and the populations, taken together, must have equalled in number the burgesses of the Roman state.

The half-century which elapsed after Rome was laid in ashes by the Celtic barbarians had witnessed a marvellous transformation, ending in an assured Roman hegemony over a great stretch of western Italy, from the Ciminian forest to the

bay of Naples. The general principles on which the Romans acted in making the great settlement of 338 B.C. are clear, though many of its details are obscure. The peace was not based on any common treaty made between Rome and her opponents. The towns with which she had been in conflict were separately handled, and the future relations of each with the suzerain power were expressed in a special compact. The interference of Rome with pre-existing conditions was, generally speaking, no greater than was necessary to secure the continuance of peace at home and the supremacy of the predominant city in all external affairs, especially in war. Local autonomy was left intact or nearly intact; each town retained its own little 'respublica' or commonwealth, and in the main ordered its own internal affairs as it pleased. All were in a political sense isolated from each other, and also from the world beyond the confederacy of which Rome was now the head. In dealing with powers outside, Rome spoke in the name of the whole circle of federated communities. All alike were bound, in accordance with their separate treaties, to supply stipulated aid to Rome in case of war, but the contingents were in most instances, perhaps in all, organised by the local authorities. In all probability, what moderns call the 'blood-tax' was the only tax imposed, and as the forces of the confederacy were in its early days hurled against peoples who were the ancient enemies of the Latins and of the tribes nearest them, this tax would be willingly paid.

The whole history of Roman dealings with conquered peoples testifies to freedom from the passion for uniformity, and this freedom the Romans owed to the deep impression which the municipal ideal had made on their minds. Each town-community being, in a sense, a state, diversity of conditions seemed to be the natural rule. The details of the policy pursued in 338 B.C. are very imperfectly recorded, but what we know of them is of considerable interest. Only one of the hostile towns, Velitrae, the nearest Volscian possession to Rome, a little to the eastward of the Alban mountain, was

deprived of its liberty; its citizens were driven beyond the Tiber, and its lands were allotted to Roman settlers. Two important places, Tibur and Praeneste, were not originally Latin settlements and were not now reckoned as belonging to the circle of Latin cities. They lost some of their land, but down to the time of the Social War they retained the largest amount of independence possessed by those to whom Rome bound herself by the solemn religious sanctions of the treaty, properly so called (*foedus*). These towns stipulated for what was known as 'the right of exile,' which allowed to citizens of each contracting city who might be condemned in their own community for any important crime, to find a safe refuge a few miles away. For a time Laurentum on the Latin coast seems to have had the same status as Tibur and Praeneste.

An important political device which was new at the time was applied to a number of cities, some inside, some outside Latium. This is the famous 'passive franchise' (*civitas sine suffragio*). The essential feature of it was that the people of the towns which received it remained burgesses of their own communities, but at the same time became, with some limitations, burgesses of Rome also. They could, for instance, contract valid marriages with Romans, and they enjoyed the cherished privilege which guarded the liberty of the Roman, the right of appeal from the sentence of a Roman magistrate to the general body of burgesses at Rome. The contingents which were supplied to the Roman army by these towns were locally raised and equipped, but were incorporated in the Roman legionary system, whereas the soldiers from the Latin cities served in special cavalry corps (*alae*) and special infantry detachments (*cohortes*). Apparently Tusculum had received the 'passive franchise' as early as 381 B.C., and although it had joined in the Latin war, it was allowed to go back to the *status quo* on its conclusion. Four towns are said to have been classed with it, Lanuvium, one of the old centres of the sacral league, Aricia, another of these centres, on the slope of the Alban hill, Nomentum and Pedum up the valley of the Tiber.

Then the same conditions were extended beyond Latium, to two towns in the old country of the Aurunci, Fundi and Formiae, situated on what was afterwards the Appian way, and to Capua, Cumae, Acerrae, Suessula and other cities in Campania. Later, some of the Hernican towns, as Anagnia and Arpinum, were treated in the same manner, and one or two places in Samnium also, and in 290 B.C. all the Sabines.

This invention of the 'passive franchise' proved to be temporary, for with some possible unimportant exceptions, all the communities which possessed it were completely incorporated into the Roman body politic, and received the full Roman franchise, long before the time of the Social War. As the institution died out so early, it is no wonder that our information, derived from writers of the late Republic or early Empire, should be not only defective but in part incoherent. Hence some scholars have held that in 338 B.C. the five Latin cities of which mention has been made above were granted not the 'passive franchise,' but full Roman privileges. Also it has been thought that the Romans annulled the municipal liberties of some of the 'civitates sine suffragio' and subjected them to the government of Roman officers. Some of the antiquarians of the late Republican time imagined that the new status of the semi-Roman communities was always imposed on them by the government as a punishment. The evidence points the other way. Livy, for instance, says that Fundi and Formiae received the 'passive franchise' as a token of Roman gratitude for services rendered. And we know that the Campanian cities came into voluntary alliance with Rome. If only five Latin cities had this status given them, that is probably due to the fact that they alone were willing to accept it. It has indeed been sometimes supposed by modern scholars that the whole of the Latin towns were placed on this footing, but this opinion does not rest on sound evidence. Ancient scholars seem to have been misled in their views of the question by several circumstances. In the first place, each town which accepted the new conditions received from Rome annually an officer who bore the title of 'praefectus,'

and administered there the law or at least its higher departments. But there is no reason to think that he superseded the municipal officers in any other respect. And there is much to show that the existence of this 'praefectus' was not regarded as a mark of inferiority. At Capua, we are told, the system was introduced at the request of the inhabitants themselves. And it was applied to the Roman citizen colonies also, of which we shall speak presently, in the same manner as to the semi-Roman towns. Moreover when the whole of Italy was made Roman, the towns, or many of them, which had 'praefecti,' continued, it seems, to receive them. Had the existence of these functionaries been deemed humiliating to the towns, they would hardly have survived the great reorganisation which took place after the Social War. It was due to a misunderstanding of the institution of the 'praefectus,' among other things, that Livy's informant asserted the complete subjection of the Hernican town of Anagnia to Rome. He declared that the magistrates there were ordered to desist from all their functions excepting those connected with religion.

Another misconception of the ancient antiquarians was caused by the terms 'municeps' and 'municipium.' In all towns of the Roman world the duties of citizenship (*munera*) were contrasted with the public distinctions (*honores*) to which citizens might attain. Members of a 'civitas sine suffragio,' or indeed of the ordinary Latin town, who came to reside at Rome, were citizens so far as the 'munera' were concerned, but not as regarded the 'honores.' They were however in a better legal position than other peregrins, who would be dependent for any rights they might enjoy at Rome on the good-will of the government, excepting in so far as they could claim under a treaty. They thus, comparatively with other strangers, enjoyed a privileged status. But to the men of the late Republic and the Empire it not unnaturally appeared that residents at Rome who supported burdens but were shut out from honours, had suffered humiliation at the hands of the Roman power. Such an idea could only arise when the

primitive notions about the city-commonwealth had been obscured by the growth of Rome; when it no longer sufficed for a man that he should have open to him municipal honours in his own native city. A further reason for the supposition that the status of the 'civitas sine suffragio' was in itself humiliating, is to be found in the peculiar relations which existed between Rome and the town of Caere, originally an Etruscan foundation. The legend is familiar which tells how the Vestals fled from Rome on the approach of the Gauls, and carried with them certain sacred things, and were hospitably entertained by the burgesses of Caere. On which account the Romans made friendship with the town on favourable terms. But later there was war between Caere and Rome, and about 353 B.C. the Etruscan city received the 'civitas sine suffragio.' Thereafter the citizens of Caere were registered on the Roman municipal lists, coming after the full citizens, and in the same category with the Romans who had not sufficient property to entitle them to be enrolled in the legions. What the meaning of this registration was no man can say. The deduction made from it in ancient and modern times, that the inhabitants of Caere were subjected to arbitrary taxation, and that their communal institutions were destroyed, has little probability. Nor is there any likelihood that all 'cives sine suffragio' were registered at Rome, after the fashion of the Caerites. It is often asserted that the Caerites were the first to undergo this registration, and for a time the only passive burgesses so registered, and that when others followed them, the whole list took its name from Caere. But for this there is neither proof nor probability. One ancient writer classed with Caere the old Latin town of Aricia, one of the sacred assembly places of the old Latin League. It is hard to believe that the freedom of this venerable city was taken away.

What was the fate of the mass of the Latin communities about which no particular information is given in the records? As has been stated, it has been supposed, with no kind of plausibility, that they all entered into the class of the 'civitates

sine suffragio.' That there were differences between the two groups in many respects is clear. Residents in Rome from the older Latin communities, for example, had a limited right of voting in the assembly of the Centuries. Ancient writers give us but little definite information. What is certain is that the Romans isolated these Latin towns in some political respects from each other. The 'pax Romana' was imposed on them all, and their relations with towns both inside and outside the Roman confederacy were determined by the leading city. Military aid was demanded of them, but no other kind of aid. The Latin cities were 'allies' in the same general sense as non-Latin cities; that is to say, their association with Rome was defined for each by a separate compact. The term 'socii' covers all alike. In strictness, indeed, Latins were 'peregrini' or foreigners to the Romans, and the phrase is sometimes actually applied to them. But there were certain ties of blood, religion and law which caused them to be classed apart, as 'allies of the Latin name' (*socii Latini nominis*) or, more briefly, as 'the Latin name' (*nomen Latinum*). Such phrases, to denote racial units are not uncommon; thus we hear of 'the Etruscan name.' In the first place the forty-seven older communities which formed the sacral federation still participated in the solemn annual festival of the 'Latiar,' but Rome now played a leading rôle in it. The right to send representatives who should claim a portion of the flesh of the victim sacrificed to Jupiter was cherished by these ancient places down to the latest time, long after they had been incorporated in the Roman state, and even when many of them had so dwindled that it was not easy for them to find envoys to represent them. To the inhabitants of these older Latin towns belonged a limited right to domicile themselves in Rome and to obtain for themselves and their descendants the full rights there of burgesses. Apart from permanent domicile, as we have seen, they could take a certain part in the public life of Rome, though their influence was not considerable. More important was the special position which all Latins held in the field of Roman civil law. In the courts they were treated in

important respects as citizens rather than as aliens. To them belonged the 'right of commercium' (*ius commercii* or *commercium* simply). This was not merely the privilege of trading, but that of holding property within the Roman domain in the same manner as Roman citizens, and of being placed by the courts on a level with burgesses in all matters where buying and selling were involved. Similar concessions were often made by the Hellenic cities to each other. One of the advantages which the 'ius commercii' carried with it was that Latins could take property under a Roman testament, and vice versa. As the lawyers put it, there was 'the power of testament' (*testamenti factio*) on both sides. The 'cives sine suffragio' of course were in the same position, but none of the 'socii' excepting the Latins. The 'ius connubii,' on the other hand, the right of contracting valid marriage with Romans, does not seem to have been enjoyed by all Latins alike, as it was by all 'passive burgesses' alike. But perhaps the privilege was granted to most of the Latin allies. We read in Livy that both 'commercium' and 'connubium' were interdicted to the Latin communities in their relations to each other. This seems to be a misconception. A restriction of the kind could be of no benefit to the Romans; it would be difficult to maintain in practice; and it was not in the line of early Roman policy to impose a useless vindictive punishment. It is highly probable that disabilities imposed on the older Latin towns endured but for a short time and that most of them speedily acquired the full Roman citizenship. As they became Roman or semi-Roman, they ceased to belong to the 'Latin name.' In the period of the second war with Carthage this expression seems only to comprise towns which were recognised as Latin colonial foundations. This list again included some communities whose establishment was referred by tradition to a remote antiquity. These were Signia at the north-western end of the Volscian hills, Circeii on the great promontory which bounded Latium proper to the south, Cora and Norba, which lay, like Setia, on the southern slope of the Volscian hills, but nearer Rome, and Ardea, the old Rutulian

city. Satricum, founded in Volscian territory near Antium, but inland, soon after the Gaulish sack of Rome, was one of the few Italian towns which Rome destroyed; this was punishment for its faithlessness in the war with Samnium, in 319 B.C. The name Latium began to cover a larger stretch of territory, and ultimately absorbed the country of the old Aequians, Volscians, Hernicans and Aurunci, so that it extended southwards as far as the Massic mountain. But the changed meaning of the name had more of a geographical than of a political importance. One great consequence of the Latin war was, as will be seen, the immense impulse which it gave to the expansion of the Roman burgess body, a process which was from time to time checked, but ran its full course until it embraced the whole of the Roman dominions. Town by town, the older Latins and the 'passive burgesses' were embodied in the Roman state, and the process was practically complete soon after the conclusion of the Second Punic War. The settlement of 338 B.C. was the starting point for some other important developments which must now be described.

# CHAPTER IV

## THE EXTENSION OF ROMAN POWER IN ITALY AFTER THE LATIN WAR

A GREAT scholar has said that the history of the expansion of Rome is the history of her colonisation. This is only partially true, but in so far as the ancient world was actually Romanised or Latinised, the colonial foundations contributed powerfully to that end. The 'colonia' takes its name from 'coloni' or tillers of the soil. But it was a new Roman or Latin municipal body, with its defensive walls and its autonomous institutions and its 'territorium,' on which the town depended mainly for its subsistence. Until after the third century B.C. it was always planted in a district that had just been conquered; and at all times the colony was established on soil taken from an enemy, and incorporated with the Roman national domain (*publicus ager*). Sometimes, however, an existing town was reconstituted, and the settlers became a garrison in it, receiving allotments in its estate. Down to the time of the great Latin war, these colonial towns followed the old Latin pattern, and were newly organised autonomous communities in alliance with the leading city, and bound to it in the same manner as other allies. The establishment of these new municipalities was a consequence of the Roman military organisation. The soldier-settlers were detailed by the Roman government for the particular service, if a sufficient number of volunteers was not forthcoming. About the time of the final settlement with the Latins, the government began to send out Roman citizen soldiers also, whose service was, as a rule, to guard

important positions on the coast. But the great majority of the new garrison-towns or 'colonies' continued to be of the old Latin type. It is possible but hardly probable that Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber was organised as a burgess colony at a very early date. And there are similar doubtful stories, generally rejected by scholars, about one or two other places. But the history of the burgess colony practically begins with the despatch of a permanent garrison to Antium on the Latin coast in 338 B.C. Seven other citizen colonies were established between that date and 245 B.C., when the first Carthaginian war was nearing its end. Every one of these was on the sea-coast, excepting Aesis, situated inland on the river of the same name, which debouches in the Adriatic north of Ancona. Hence Livy, writing of the time of the elder Scipio, speaks of these burgess-towns collectively, as "the maritime colonies." During the same period, from the end of the Latin war to the end of the first Carthaginian war, almost exactly three times as many Latin garrisons as Roman were settled in newly-won dominions for their protection. It is natural to ask what were the reasons for this disproportion. The main cause was that service outside the limits of his country was, on the whole, and especially in the earlier centuries, unpopular with the Roman soldier. Just as in later days the armies of occupation in the annexed provinces were drawn in much larger proportion from allies than from citizens, so, while Roman dominion advanced in Italy, the burden of securing new conquests was thrown mainly on the Latins. It is certain that some and possible that many Romans joined the settlers in the Latin colonies and exchanged their Roman citizenship for the Latin status. There was of course no possibility at this time of citizens of the two grades being united in the same municipality. Citizenship was bound to be uniform; though of course military officers and equites who joined these colonial foundations would have greater dignity in the local senate than others. Such an exchange would not have been felt to be very strange or undesirable before a new departure

in colonial policy was made about 268 B.C., and neither Latins nor allies could have felt their condition to be greatly inferior to that of the Romans until after the war with Hannibal, when the Roman hegemony in Italy began to pass into a domination. It is recorded that a detachment of soldiers from Praeneste, who had heroically defended against Hannibal the post of Casilinum, where the Appian way crossed the Volturnus, declined the Roman citizenship when it was offered to them as a reward for their bravery. Even at the time when Italy was unified, after the great struggle of 90—89 B.C., there were among the allies some who prized their ancient autonomy more highly than the Roman franchise. In this connexion it should be remembered that the local privileges of the non-Roman community were more complete, in general, than those of the Roman community outside Rome. For example, one mark of sovereignty which was greatly cherished in ancient days, the right of coinage, was at first permitted to all allied cities, but for all Roman towns in Italy the government at the centre was the sole minting authority. Even the semi-Roman communities were allowed a limited right of coinage.

The colonisation which we have been describing bears but little resemblance to the modern process described by that name. The military character of the colonies was marked; they were, as Cicero calls them, "the bulwarks of Roman rule." Their foundation only involved to a small extent the transference of population to the colonised lands. In a burgess colony the normal number of settlers was three hundred; to whom must be added their families. The despatch of the new settlers had to be authorised by a legislative act of the assembled citizens at Rome, and all the arrangements were prescribed by this statute. To carry them out a commission of three was appointed (*tresviri coloniae deducendae*). These men supervised the new settlement until it was in working order. The Roman colonists and their descendants were released from ordinary service in the legions. Until the stress of the second Carthaginian war

drove the Senate to make a breach in their privileges, their one duty was to defend the station where they were posted. As the burgess-colonies were commonly grafted on conquered cities whose autonomy was thereby affected, it is of interest to inquire what was their relation to the indigenous population, but there are few sources of information. That the new settlers at first formed a kind of governing aristocracy, monopolising the local senate and magistracies, has often been supposed. We shall find that, in a later time, one and the same city often embraced two or even three separate municipal organisations, and it is quite possible that the plan was followed in these burgess-colonies. Another supposition has been that when the colony was established the natives became 'citizens without the suffrage.' However that may be, it is certain that the barriers between the two classes of inhabitants speedily gave way, and had disappeared in all such communities long before the great enfranchisement took place which was brought about by the Social War. These cities became thoroughly Roman not by compulsion, but owing to the strong attractive influence exercised by the new colonists. A similar change must be conceived as having passed over the population of old places where garrisons of Latin soldiers were permanently posted.

The number of participators in the Latin colony was always larger than in the Roman; but the highest number of which we hear in this period is six thousand, and it was rarely exceeded, even in the latest age. The allotments of land in both classes of colony were, as it seems to us, remarkably small. Until after the Hannibalic war they ranged from two to seven acres (*iugera*), and even later still such small holdings were assigned. In the case of the latest Latin colony of the Italian series, Aquileia, established in 181 B.C., the foot soldier received fifty acres, the centurion a hundred, and the cavalry soldier a hundred and forty. This mode of allotment, by which grades in the army were distinguished, was usual, and renders conspicuous the military character of these settlements. The problem of small

allotments, obviously insufficient to maintain the families of the colonists, has greatly vexed modern scholars. The same difficulty is involved in the early history of Rome itself. The commonest solution has been to suppose that the settlers shared the advantages of those parts of the 'territorium' of the new city which were not assigned to individual colonists as their absolute property. The difficulty does not greatly concern us; but it may be noted that military service in these colonies was intimately connected with the holding of land, as was the case in Rome itself in the earlier days. Small, numerically, as the number of Latin and Roman settlers in these colonies was, their influence on the regions around them was immense. The local dialects everywhere gave way before Latin, and the populations were in course of time prepared, by subtle changes of culture and sentiment, to accept and even to welcome complete absorption into the Roman state. The institution of the 'passive franchise' worked in the same direction. Mommsen has shown in an interesting manner, by an examination of the coins issued at Capua, how in the earlier years of the connexion with Rome the Oscan tongue yielded ground, while there was a sort of Oscan revival, indicating alienation from Rome, just before the great catastrophe brought about by the adhesion of Capua to Hannibal. Rome did not impose the Latin language on these semi-Roman communities. This is exemplified by a curious fact concerning Cumae. In 180 B.C. the town petitioned to be allowed to adopt as its official language the Latin, and by a resolution of the Roman assembly the request was granted. There must have been something special in the case of Cumae to account for such procedure. Perhaps in the original compact which bound the town to Rome, there was a stipulation for the maintenance of the Greek language, and the reversal of a treaty guarantee required the consent of both parties. There is good reason to believe that ere this occurred Cumae had acquired the full Roman franchise, and the circumstance is thereby rendered all the more notable.

It is convenient now to trace briefly the extension of the ancient policy of planting colonies in the conquered portions of the Italian peninsula, until it came to an end after the second Carthaginian war. The first colony (a Latin one) created after the Latin war was in 334 B.C. at Cales. It occupied an important site in the land of the old Aurunci, to the north-west of Capua, on a road which left the great Latin way at Teanum Sidicinum, and struck the Volturnus at Casilinum. This was the point at which, a little later, the Appian road was carried over the Volturnus. As a support to their power in Campania, Cales was of immense consequence to the Romans, as a means of checking raids from the mountains to the north, and of keeping open communications with Rome. Cales had been from of old a flourishing place, and it continued to be an important industrial centre to the late days of the empire. A few years later, Fregellae, on the Latin way where it crosses the Liris, became a Latin 'colony' or fortress. It had earlier been in the holding of the Volscians, and later of the Samnites, and in the second Samnite war it changed hands several times over. After rendering splendid service to Rome against Hannibal, it came to a tragic end in 125 B.C., when the Romans rased it to the ground. It seems at the time to have been the city next in importance to Rome in the Italian confederacy. One who wrote about forty years after the event says that this city, "whose brilliance gave light to Italy, can now scarce show a trace of its foundation-stones."

The posting of a Latin garrison at Luceria in Apulia about 314 B.C. is a prominent event in the story of Roman progress towards empire. The Latin community there planted was the first settlement belonging to the Romano-Latin confederation which was established to the east of the Apennine range, and it was the proximate cause of the conflict between the Romans and the Greeks of lower Italy. Near the same time the government of Rome took steps to strengthen its hold on Campania. The great 'via Appia' was built, the "queen of roads," as Horace calls it, the

earliest of all the great military highways created by Roman engineers. The other main line of approach to Campania was the 'via Latina,' and in connexion with it two permanent Latin garrisons were now established, one at Interamna, where this road touched the Liris on its lower course, and the other at Suessa Aurunca, in the land of the Aurunci, on a cross road which leaves the Appian way at Minturnae, and reaches the Latin way at Teanum Sidicinum. The Aurunci, or Ausones, from whom the name 'Ausonia' comes, had repeatedly warred with Rome, and as they were an Oscan-speaking people, they sympathised with the Samnites, and, if Livy may be believed, were later on treacherously handled by the Romans and exterminated. About the same time Saticula, on the borders of Campania and Samnium, was occupied by a Latin colony.

During the second Samnite war (327—304 B.C.) the Romans contended also with other peoples, the Aurunci just mentioned, the Umbrians, Etruscans, Aequians and Hernicans, and in consequence enlarged their overlordship. The Hernican cities, Anagnia, Arpinum and others, received for the most part the 'passive franchise.' In 303 a position was taken up at Sora on the southern border of the land of the warlike Marsi, where Latins were settled. And the Marsi were further threatened by the establishment of Latins at Alba near Lake Fucinus on the north. Five years later Carseoli, between Tibur and Alba Fucentia, was similarly seized. After this three generations sufficed to carry the Roman arms up to the line of the Po. One whole people, the Sabines, found a place within the bounds of the Roman polity itself, first as 'passive' burgesses in 290 B.C. and then in 268 B.C. as fully privileged citizens. As each fresh conflict ended it was followed by an increase in the number of fortress-colonies. These were planted mainly along the east and west coasts. The southernmost on the west was at the old Greek city of Posidonia, which in 273 B.C. became the Latin colony of Paestum. By a strange fate, noble temples have survived on the site from the early Greek days

of the town, but nothing attests its fortunes in the Latin period of its history. An important event was the foundation of the citizen-colony at Sena Gallica (Sinigaglia) to the north-west of Ancona. This was the only settlement of Roman soldiers, as distinct from Latin, made on the Adriatic shore before the Second Punic War was over. Its name indicates the southern limit of the Gaulish settlements which once spread along the whole line of the Apennines to the north. Latin establishments followed on this side. The northernmost and the southernmost of these were the most important. The Latin fortress of Ariminum (Rimini), founded in 268 B.C., was for long the great Roman stronghold against the barbarian tribes between the Alps and the Apennines. Its territory extended north as far as the mouth of the Rubicon, famous to Caesar's time as the boundary of Italy in this direction. The emblems on the coins of Ariminum, the Gaul's head with the torque round the neck, shields, daggers, tridents, indicate the service which this city rendered to the Roman state. Equally of consequence was Brundisium, an old Messapian town, where Latins took up their abode in 244 B.C. For ages this was the chief port of departure for all Eastern lands. In the period with which we are dealing but few colonies were created in the inland regions, but some of these were great buttresses of the Roman power. Of sixteen known foundations (Latin and Roman) whose dates fall between 296 and 241 B.C. twelve were on or very near the coast. The other four were Horace's Venusia in Apulia (291) and, in Samnium, the cities of Beneventum (268) and Aesernia (263), and, in Umbria, Spoletium (241). All of these were Latin settlements and gave much military aid to the Romans during their struggle against Hannibal. One curious feature is seen on a survey of the Latin and Roman colonies of this age. The farther the Romans advanced, the fewer and more scattered were the fortified positions on which they relied in the conquered districts. They placed their faith far more in fair alliances than in the establishment of new fortresses or the transformation

of Italian or Greek towns to the Roman or Latin type. There was but little actual military occupation of the inland parts of Italy from north to south. Even among the Samnites, their bitterest foes, the Romans made but small display of their own military power. Between 245 and 191 B.C. no burgess colony was set on foot, and the settlements of that type which were afterwards created were, as we shall see, different in some serious aspects from the earlier. In proportion to the whole number of municipalities within the bounds of Italy, the special centres of Romano-Latin influence which existed before the Hannibalic war were but few, yet their influence on the populations round about them was surprisingly great.

All colonies were founded on territory annexed from enemies; but annexed land was also dealt with in another way than by the establishment of new municipal and military communities. The whole history of actual annexation in Italy is obscure, and it is difficult to say what at any one time was the extent of the 'publicus ager.' The idea was common among ancient antiquarians that Rome in the early days invariably deprived Italian peoples who entered her alliance of one-third of their territory. This is untrue; the majority of communities in Italy entered into permanent relation with Rome, without any loss, or without any serious loss, of land. It was at first in regions near Rome that tracts of country were cut up into small farms and distributed to individual settlers. This was what the Romans called 'divisio viritana,' literally 'allotment man by man.' In this way southern Etruria was parcelled out after the total destruction of Veii and the pushing forward of the Roman frontier to the Ciminian forest. But when the Etruscan domination was destroyed there, it is not likely that the population, which was largely of blood akin to the Latin, was completely dispossessed. Other large stretches of country were similarly treated; as the Pomptine district to the south, about the end of the fourth century B.C., and the territory of Picenum, early in the third. In the latter instance, the ousted inhabitants

were largely of Gaulish origin. This process was not called colonisation by the Romans, but it was the greatest example of colonisation in the modern sense of the term which the history of Roman expansion in Italy presents. Along with this development went the extension of the system of local tribes. Between 493 and 241 B.C. fourteen new districts were organised. The region covered by these creations is in reality an enlargement of the municipal 'territorium' of the city of Rome; excepting that within it there were many islands of autonomy, so to call them, mostly occupied by Latin and other allies, and for a time by peoples of the 'passive burgess' class. At the close of the First Punic War a momentous decision was taken by the Senate and accepted for the time being by the nation. The inconvenience of the scattering of the citizen body over a wide area was beginning to be felt. The mere registration of citizens living far apart, and their organisation for military purposes, became increasingly difficult, and the political functions which could only be exercised in Rome were losing much of their value. Other ancient communities had of course been conscious of similar difficulties. Athenians had sometimes realised that the land of Attica was too large for the working of the city-state, as ideally conceived. And Aristotle gave expression to a wide-spread prepossession when he demanded that the typical 'Polis' should have only a small domain attached to it. The idea that, in their foreign policy, they had mainly to deal with a series of municipal bodies, must have been ever present to the minds of Roman statesmen, until their course of conquest brought them into contact with the outer barbarians. A city with a 'territorium' extending to the borders of Campania, and across the mountains to the Adriatic, may well have been felt to be an anomaly, and any further enlargement of the municipal domain of Rome may have appeared to be fraught with danger to the working of institutions which had in their origin been framed to suit the needs of a small city-community. The policy of setting a limit to the extension of the specially Roman territory, and of closing for the future, as a general rule, access to the

citizenship, which was adopted in 241 B.C., has not unnaturally seemed to modern observers narrow, small-hearted and un-imperial. The establishment of a rigid barrier between Romans on the one hand, and Latins and allies on the other, when looked at in the light of subsequent events, wears the appearance of a disastrous error. But, at the time, it was not prompted by any feeling of arrogance towards the allied peoples of Italy. Not until the traditional spirit of the Roman government was barbarised by the Hannibalic war could the closing of the constitution against intrusion from without have been felt by the allies to be a wrong done to them. Not in the adoption of the policy of exclusion, but in its maintenance under profoundly altered conditions, lay the blunder committed by the suzerain state.

In 241 B.C., then, it was determined that the number of tribe districts should not be increased beyond thirty-five. Even when the tribe system was extended until it covered all Italy, this number was not exceeded. The tribes from the twenty-first to the thirty-fourth had names which were definitely geographical. But the last was called the 'tribus Quirina.' It was created to include most of the Sabine country. Whether the Romans already attributed to the names 'Quirites,' 'Quirinal,' 'Quirinus' a Sabine origin, as did Varro later, cannot be determined. The title 'Quirina' given to the last tribe cannot well be connected with the Sabine town of 'Cures,' which figured greatly in Sabine story, for it so happens that Cures lay within the bounds of another tribe. The supposition is tempting that 'Quirinus' was already a synonym of Romulus, as it is in Cicero's writings and in the Augustan poetry, and that the selection of the designation 'Quirina' for the last of the tribes was meant to lay stress on the finality of the new boundary of the Roman city territory. But the identification of Romulus with the god Quirinus cannot be proved to be of early date. However that may be, from the end of the First Punic War to the time of the Social War, the only important accessions to the body of burgesses accrued by the absorption of the semi-Roman and Latin communities

of which we have already spoken, ending in 188 B.C. It must be understood that the franchise was bestowed city by city, and that as each was enfranchised, its territory entered into the organisation of the tribes, and was allotted to a particular tribe. It was a necessity that every full Roman citizen should be able to prove his registration by the Roman censors as a member of one or other of the thirty-five tribes. The tribe name was an integral part of the citizen's name. And it is interesting to note that the attachment of the tribe-name to the personal family name goes back to a time when the third name, the 'cognomen,' was not yet in use. When it came into vogue, it took its place after the title of the tribe. Thus Cicero's official designation was 'Marcus Tullius, son of Marcus, of the Cornelian tribe Cicero' (*M. Tullius M. f. Corn.* [= *Cornelia* sc. *tribu*] *Cicero*).

As the territorial organisation of the Roman city domain was extended, it became somewhat complex. That part of it which was connected with Rome, and with no other municipality, would have administrative connexion with the central city only. There were few Roman municipal units within the limits of the older country tribes. But in the districts added later, there were many towns, Roman and non-Roman, which controlled a considerable amount of land around them. The administration of these districts was in the hands of the local town authorities in nearly all respects. The chief exception was the one mentioned above, that the higher legal jurisdiction belonged, in the 'passive' burgess towns and in the Roman colonies, to officers despatched from Rome. It was an old principle of Roman public law that a man cannot be a citizen of two city-states at the same time. The advance of conquest in the peninsula made great inroads on the principle. Men would now call themselves 'citizens' of Arpinum, for instance, and at the same time 'citizens' of Rome. Their names would be on the general Roman register and on the local register as well. As towns and their domains became part of the Roman commonwealth, the old 'right of exile' which connected them with Rome fell away. The Roman citizen who, when

arraigned on a criminal charge, exercised his constitutional privilege of acquiring the citizenship of another community, and so of withdrawing himself from the jurisdiction of Rome, and of escaping punishment, had to go further and farther afield as time went on. By the end of the Republican period, all Italy was closed against such exiles, and Milo, according to the familiar tale, had to console himself with the fine mullets of Marseilles. As regards the whole Roman civic body, in its relation to other civic bodies, the Roman constitutional lawyers still at the end of the Republican age held to the old principle that double citizenship was impossible. By that time honorary enrolment of Romans on the register of Athens and other Greek cities had become a fashion, but it was noted by experts that, on a strict interpretation of the law, these Romans would be held to have lost their Roman citizenship.

Before the Second Punic War began the Romans had modified their relations with allied communities in Italy in some important respects. In 268 B.C. the privileges allowed to colonists in new Latin colonies were somewhat diminished. The burgesses of the twelve Latin settlements which were created between 268 and 181 B.C., beginning with Ariminum and ending with Aquileia, did not possess that right of domicile at Rome and of acquiring the Roman franchise, which belonged to the older Latin foundations. But in all Latin cities the tenure of the magistracies gave a title to the Roman citizenship. A difficult question arises here. It has been observed that many of the original Latin towns had become integral parts of the Roman commonwealth. If Latins alone were drafted into these last twelve colonies, they must have come almost entirely from the comparatively few towns whose status was still Latin. If, as is commonly thought, the settlers in these later Latin colonies were for the most part Romans, they must have exchanged their Roman privilege for a condition which was now obviously inferior. This, if done at all, must have been done voluntarily. No Roman could be compelled to change his status. It may be that as these new

establishments were at a great distance from the centre of government, the loss of political rights which could only be exercised there was not deeply felt. Or the colonists may have been largely Romans of the poorer class, whom material betterment consoled. Possibly also the non-Latin Italian allies were allowed to take part in these later settlements. At any rate, the policy adopted in 268 B.C. makes it clear that even before 241 B.C. Roman statesmen were already turning their thoughts in the direction of raising barriers against a further enlargement of the boundaries of the body politic.

During the long struggle against Pyrrhus ending in complete Roman control of Italy, and the first conflict with the Carthaginians, which put the Romans in possession of large part of Sicily, their earliest extra-Italian domain, there was a lull in internal politics at Rome. But with peace there naturally came activity. A great popular leader appeared, C. Flaminius, who fell in the battle of Lake Trasumennus. He has received but scant justice at the hands of historians. He appears to have been one of the greatest expansionists, or if you like, one of the greatest imperialists, who ever exercised influence over the Roman state. His career illustrates a phenomenon to which there are many parallels in history. It has often happened that democratic parties have inclined to a policy of expansion, at a time when their aristocratic opponents have favoured rest and security. By his great agrarian law, passed in 232 B.C. in the teeth of the Senate, Flaminius spread Roman farmers over the district to the south of Ariminum, known as 'the Gallic territory' (*Gallicus ager*). He did excellent service as commander in the war against the Gauls which followed a few years later. Polybius and other aristocratically minded authors wrote of this war as a calamity brought about by the discontent of the Gauls which the agrarian law had stimulated; but the evidence which they themselves supply is sufficient to refute the charge. There can be little doubt that Flaminius designed to bring the whole valley of the Po within the sphere of Roman and Latin influences. The laying out of the great road, the Flaminian

way, which bore his name, was a step in his scheme. And another measure which tended in the same direction was the creation of the two Latin fortresses of Placentia and Cremona. Although these were barely established when Hannibal descended from the Alps, they proved to be of the utmost value to the Romans during the struggle that followed; and they deserve the description of Livy: "barriers to keep in check risings among the Gauls." But the completion of the policy inaugurated by Flaminius was made impossible by the Carthaginian invasion, and the Latinisation of the northernmost parts of Italy was not seriously undertaken again until after the Social War. Like most conquering peoples, the Romans suffered from alternate cold fits and hot fits of feeling about expansion. For some time after the Second Punic War the advance into lands where conquest would add to the military and other burdens of the nation was unpopular, and was desired not so much by the burgesses, as by the aristocratic commanders who thirsted for glory and triumphs.

Soon after the close of the gigantic contest with Hannibal, there was a fresh outbreak of colonisation within the peninsula. Some of the older foundations, whose population had dwindled during the war, were strengthened by new contingents of settlers; Venusia in Apulia, Narnia and Cosa in Etruria, Placentia and Cremona in Cisalpine Gaul. Only four new Latin colonies were added, Copia on the site of Thurium, the old Athenian foundation which was joined for a time by the historian Herodotus; Valentia in Bruttium, also on the site of an old Greek city, Hippo, or Hipponium, which was Latinised as Vibo; Bononia (Bologna) in what was then Gallic territory, and Aquileia, founded in 181 B.C., which was destined to have a long and significant history, stretching down to late imperial times. The foundation of Aquileia closed the era of Latin colonisation, properly so called. The towns which were brought into existence later as Latin towns, or which were transformed to the Latin model, have only a formal and technical connexion with the earlier category. Between 191 and 157 B.C. no fewer than seventeen citizen

colonies were set up. For the most part, in accordance with earlier practice, these were planted on the coast. Although some of them continued the existence of towns which had been early famous, few had any great history afterwards. The Roman Croton, for example, failed to revive the prosperity of its celebrated Greek predecessor. Three only of these foundations had any great importance in later times. One was Puteoli on the Campanian coast, which replaced the old Greek town of Dicaearchia, a dependency of Kyme (Cumae). This seaport became in time and long continued to be the greatest on the Italian seaboard. The memorials of its life which have survived to our age are full of interest, showing as they do the cosmopolitan character of its population. There have been preserved specimens of glass vessels on which views of portions of the town are traced, obviously manufactured as mementos for strangers to take away. The other two towns of this creation which attained to celebrity were Parma and Mutina (Modena), both on soil which was in the Gallic area. All the communities of which we have been speaking were settled on land which had been conquered or confiscated during the troubles that attended, or immediately preceded, the war with Hannibal. The end of the mighty struggle brought with it the enormous difficulty of returning the huge forces in the field to civil life. The soldiers had been drawn mainly from the rural population, and the only way to dispose of them was to require them to take up again the life which they had left. The general impoverishment caused by the war rendered this a hard task. We hear of commissions to assign farms in Samnium, Apulia and elsewhere to veterans of the Italian, Spanish, Sicilian and African campaigns, by individual allotment (*viritana divisio*). The holdings granted were so small, in some cases only two acres (*iugera*), that, unless rights of pasturage were added, they cannot have afforded a living. Besides the separate assignations, soldiers were planted out in groups in the new municipal communities called 'colonies.' It is obvious that whereas, in earlier days, the purpose of such creations was mainly military, it was now mainly economic. In some of the new burgess-

colonies provision was made for a much larger number of settlers than would earlier have been the case. In Parma and Mutina two thousand men received allotments. In many cases the citizens showed little disposition to join these colonies. It is recorded that in the case of three, Puteoli, Salernum and Buxentum, on the western coast, non-Romans had to be enrolled to complete the required number. Of course a life passed in campaigning was an ill preparation for the tilling of the soil. When the great standing legionary camps were formed on the frontiers in the imperial age, the legionary had the opportunity to add to his numerous accomplishments the art of the farmer. But now many of these new communities established for the soldier-agriculturist sank into comparative insignificance before many years had passed. The first Eclogue of Virgil, in which the woes are sung of the peasant who has to yield his fields to the soldier, expresses a natural pity for the land, as well as for its ousted owner. Right on to the end of colonisation by veterans in Italy, its results were on the whole of little worth, from an economic point of view. In the newly-won lands outside Italy, the farmer-soldier, for whatever reason, had a better fate.

Once more a change came over the institution of the burgess colony. The elder Gracchus opened to thousands of the poorer Romans access to the national land, which in theory was the property of the body politic as a whole. But his famous agrarian law led to 'viritane' allotment only; colonial settlements, as the Romans understood them, were not within its purview. His brother Gaius propounded a larger policy, which has left its mark on the history of Europe for all time. By his treatment, the citizen-colony could be divorced from its military connexion, and become frankly economic, an organisation for the relief of penury among the conquerors of the world, who, Tiberius had said, were often in a worse plight than the beasts of the field, for they had no place wherein to lay their heads. A vast colonial scheme was projected, which included for the first time settlements outside the bounds of the Italian peninsula, as well as within

it. Doubtless the extra-Italian colony was to the men of the time a startling innovation. Yet the region in which Mutina and Parma had been planted was then less civilised than southern Gaul or northern Africa, where Gracchus desired to refound Carthage and to plant the new city of Narbonne. The grand scheme of Gracchus was for the time frustrated by his aristocratic opponents. The tale is a strange one, how they set up Livius Drusus to dazzle the citizens by a vaster and more generous project than that of Gracchus. But the bribe was dropped when it had drawn off popular support from the tribune and a way had been opened for his violent death. The immediate impulse to colonisation which Gracchus gave soon died away. Perhaps four or at the most five settlements owed their origin to it. He planted a number of colonists at Carthage. But Scipio Aemilianus, when he destroyed the Punic city, had cursed the soil on which it had stood, and the aristocrats were able to demonstrate that the anger of the gods still hovered over the spot. For had not wolves appeared and rooted up and carried off the stones that marked the boundaries of the new city domain? So, though the colonists were not removed, the animosity of the Senate denied to them a civic corporation, and Carthage only came to life again as a municipality in the age of Caesar and Augustus. Two other Gracchan foundations were in southern Italy, one of them the colony of Neptunia which replaced the once proud Greek city of Tarentum. The new drift towards colonisation which Gracchus had furthered had begun to be perceptible just before he rose to power; for in the year preceding his first tribunate the Roman colony of Fabrateria had been created to fill the place of the ruined Fregellae. And three years after Gracchus was done to death one of his cherished ideas was realised. The first Roman municipal settlement in what was unquestionably a foreign land was made when Narbo Martius (Narbonne) was established in Gaul beyond the Alps, to be the rival of Massilia. Before the great change which was induced by the Social War came about, one more Roman foundation

was carried out in Cisalpine Gaul at Eporedia (Ivrea) in 100 B.C. at the time when Marius and his ally Saturninus were in power. The establishment of Eporedia is justly treated by the historian Velleius Paterculus as marking an epoch in the history of Roman colonisation. The importance of Gracchus in the municipal history of Italy and the empire lay not so much in what he actually achieved, as in the fact that he rendered the narrow aristocratic policy impossible of continuance, and blazoned expansion on the democratic banner which Caesar carried on to victory. Meanwhile a line of cleavage was formed by the Social War. It rendered the Roman burgess town universal to the south of the Po, while to the north of that river the country was in the main municipalised after the Latin fashion.

We must now retrace our steps and consider Roman relations with towns and peoples in Italy which did not receive either the Roman or the Latin status until in 90—89 B.C. the allies burst open the barred doors of the constitution by force of arms. These relations depended on numerous treaties and compacts the terms of which varied greatly. It is not possible to classify distinctly the forms of the alliances entered into by Rome and civic bodies outside the Romano-Latin section of the general confederacy. The only classification used by the Romans themselves was very rough; they divided treaties (*foedera*) into 'aequa' (favourable) and 'iniqua' (unfavourable). The 'favourable' compact was one in which the obligations of the two contracting parties were theoretically parallel; in the case of the 'unfavourable' the terms were in some marked fashion better for Rome than for the other contracting party; for example, when autonomy was infringed by the requirement of tribute. In the early days every compact was embodied in what was technically a 'foedus,' concluded with solemn religious ceremonies, in which the antique college of 'Fetiales' represented the Roman community. This form of 'treaty,' properly so called, required originally the sanction of the great Centuriate Assembly, and was especially 'sacrosanct' (*sacrosanctum*),

and in a particular sense under divine protection. But as Roman foreign relations expanded, these elaborate and cumbrous formalities were inconvenient, and in innumerable instances agreements of a less formal character were approved by the Senate and acted on through many generations with loyalty as great as was shown to the agreements concluded under religious sanction. A striking example is presented by the arrangement made with the Spanish town of Gades (Cadiz) in 206 B.C., by a subordinate military officer who happened to be left in command by the death of his chief. It was still appealed to as authoritative at the end of the Republican period. Probably many of the international (or intermunicipal) compacts classed as 'foedera' by late writers, Pliny the elder for instance, were not 'foedera' in the true original sense. The earlier treaties which bound Rome with communities near at hand were mostly obliterated by the absorption of these into the Roman state. But we have seen that the memory of some was kept alive in late days, and that in one or two cases, perhaps for religious reasons, the form of annual renewal was gone through.

The Latins were, as ancient writers tell, treaty-bound (*foederati*) in the strict sense of the term. But in ordinary parlance it was not customary to apply it to them. The only communities near Rome which were 'federated,' according to the everyday use of the expression, after 338 B.C. were the towns of Tibur and Praeneste, to which reference was made earlier. These continued to retain many marks of the sovereign state. He who has noted in the streets of Tivoli the letters S. P. Q. T. on the lamp-posts, that is, 'Senatus populusque Tiburtium,' has seen a reminiscence of the ancient independence of Tibur. This stage in its history is illustrated by a humorous tale connected with religious usage, which Livy, Ovid and Plutarch thought worth the telling. It is notable as affording one of the very few examples (perhaps not half a dozen in all) which ancient records present, of that very familiar modern institution, the

'strike.' In 318 B.C. a gild of minor sacred officials at Rome, the 'flute-blowers' (*tibicines*), claimed the right to feast on a certain day in the temple of Jupiter. This was denied them, whereupon they migrated to Tibur. The Roman Senate despatched envoys to the Senate of Tibur, as to a foreign state, in order to secure the return of the flute-blowers, whose services were required on the occasions of state sacrifices and ceremonies. The Tiburtine Senate dared not lay hands on sacred personages, so a stratagem was devised. The visitors were splendidly entertained at a banquet, and when they had well drunk and were unconscious, they were placed on wagons and taken during the night to Rome. On awakening they found themselves in the forum. However, they gained their point, and the event was annually called to mind afterwards by a turbulent procession of the gild, followed by the sacred feast in the temple. The story is supposed to be commemorated on some late Republican coins. A letter is still preserved which was addressed by the Roman Senate to Tibur, possibly in the middle of the second century B.C., and is in form an international document.

Ultimately these international agreements with Rome were spread over the ancient world, but even in early Italy they must have been very numerous, and their custody and interpretation was a matter of much concern to the government. Livy may not have followed an authoritative tradition when he stated that immediately after the burning of Rome by the Gauls care was taken to recover the texts of treaties as well as statutes. But obviously the thing must have happened, and the memory of some very early compacts must have survived into the late Republic. Modern scholars have sometimes pushed sceptical criticism of these traditions too far, as when the date given for the treaty with Massilia (395 B.C.) has been declared impossible. A large number of towns and peoples all over the empire were described as 'federated' in the late Republican and early imperial age. The phrase 'free community' (*libera civitas*) was also applied to a number of these bodies, the more favoured

among them; but the expression was loosely used and cannot be precisely defined. It implied, at the least, a large measure of local autonomy, but not necessarily freedom from taxation, for a common late designation of cities is 'free and untaxed' (*liberae et immunes*).

In Italy, and indeed everywhere, the Romans by preference entered into relation with municipalities one by one, where possible, and not with racial leagues as indivisible wholes. The cases of the Latins and Hernicans have already been considered. The municipal development among the Etruscans was far advanced at a very early time, and it is not probable that the Romans ever made a general compact with them which included all their towns. Statements to the contrary may be found in ancient authorities; but on the other hand the numerous mentions of separate treaties with particular Etruscan cities cast doubts on the assertions. The case of the Umbrians is similar, and of course Roman treaties with the Italian Greeks rarely included more than one town. Campania comprised little groups of towns, one with Capua for its centre, one with Nuceria, and one with Nola. But agreements including whole peoples whose civilisation was less advanced, and among whom tribal feeling was still strong, must have existed. So far as the tribes which belonged to or bordered on the Oscan group, Samnites, Marsi, Picentes, Vestini, Marrucini, Paeligni, Frentani, are concerned, we hear of understandings which were concluded with these races taken as units. In many cases, however, it is very probable, and in some certain, that special terms were given to civic communities within the territory occupied by these populations. Similarly the stories of treaties which embraced the whole of the Lucanians, Apulians and Bruttians respectively are contradicted by detailed information concerning particular towns among them. The number of distinct compacts with separate town-commonwealths must have been greatly larger than might be supposed from the very defective information provided by ancient authorities. The vague statements of

Livy often imply that whole nationalities in Italy lost their local liberties after war with Rome, whereas facts casually revealed, sometimes by the same historian, show these assertions to have been largely inaccurate. For instance, the little town of Bantia, on the borders of Lucania and Apulia, is shown by a famous inscription on a bronze tablet of the age of the Gracchi, which presents Oscan writing on one side and Latin on the other, to have retained its local independence; and many places in the same region must have been in the same condition. At no time, apparently, did Rome greatly interfere with the internal autonomy of the central Italian peoples, the Samnites and their chief kin. Except during the First Punic War, the Roman alliance did not bear hardly on the Italian Greeks, and then they gladly lent to Rome their aid against their ancient foe. The terms granted to the Hellenic cities required them to supply ships not troops, and as the Roman government maintained no permanent fleet, the duty in ordinary times was not burdensome. The prosperity of Magna Graecia sank after the Romans acquired their ascendency, but the causes of decline were in operation long before, and any measures which were taken by Rome after the Hannibalic war tended much more to arrest than to aggravate the decline.

Yet it is certain that the Roman government began to adopt a less liberal policy towards their Italian partners soon after Pyrrhus left Italy and Tarentum was surrendered. In 268 B.C. came the creation of a Roman silver coinage for all Italy; along with which went the restriction in general of the autonomous towns (including the Latin colonies) to coinage in bronze. The five Latin colonies which closed the older creation, ending with Aquileia in 181 B.C., issued no coins. How this ordinance was imposed is not recorded. That the allies suffered gladly this restriction on one of the most cherished privileges attaching to autonomy is not to be supposed; but perhaps the convenience of a general silver currency for all Italy mitigated the grievance. The decision

to close the ranks of Roman citizens against intrusion from without, which was taken in 241 B.C., did not affect directly the allied cities at the moment, though it was an indirect indication of a less generous feeling towards them. But the first serious inroads on the stipulated municipal freedom of the allies were made after the Hannibalic war and were an immediate consequence of it. These inroads in turn changed the sentiment of the municipalities towards the suzerain power, and led up to the great catastrophe of the Social War, succeeded at once by the entry of every civic community in Italy into the Roman body politic. This development will be described in the succeeding chapter.

# CHAPTER V

## THE MUNICIPAL UNIFICATION OF ITALY

It may be said in a certain limited sense that the Romans had succeeded in welding the different peoples of Italy into a single nation before they carried their arms across the Mediterranean into Spain and Africa. At an early date the Romans, Latins and Italian peoples who supplied military contingents were included under the name 'wearers of the toga' (*togati*). The Italian Greeks were of course not comprised in this class, as they supplied ships and not soldiers. But it was understood by the time of the Second Punic War that all members of the Italian confederacy should be distinguished from Roman allies outside the peninsula. There was one Italic community separated by the sea from the rest, and for that reason it was hardly counted with them. This was Messana (Messina) which was occupied early in the third century B.C. by mercenaries from central Italy who called themselves 'Mamertini,' or followers of the god Mamers, the Oscan equivalent of Mars. Ever afterwards the name given to the place by the inhabitants was 'Mamertina civitas.' When the elder Scipio planted a number of his veterans at a place near Seville, he called the new settlement by the name of 'Italica,' apparently because there were non-Romans from Italy as well as Romans among the colonists. Traders from the peninsula early spread themselves not only over the Roman provinces, but over lands which Rome had not yet taken into possession. As was customary with merchants of all nations in the ancient world, these men, when present at any place in sufficient numbers, formed a sort of corporate

organisation for mutual help and comfort. This was arranged after the fashion of a gild, with a common chest, duly elected officers, and a special religious cult. We do not find that separate gilds were created for those who came from Rome and those who came from other communities in Italy. All the settlers who were drawn from the Romano-Italian confederacy banded themselves together under the title of 'Italici.' Such an association existed at Delos, one of the chief emporia of the ancient world, in the two centuries before the Christian era. An inscription from Halaesa in Sicily of 193 B.C. records the erection of a statue by the 'Italici' in honour of Lucius Scipio, the brother of the elder Africanus. It is possible that there was an organisation in Sicily that included all Italian settlers there.

As we have had occasion to mention these wanderers from Italy, it may be added that they must have played a great part in the Romanisation and Latinisation of the empire. Their numbers were very considerable. Mithridates is said to have had eighty thousand of them slaughtered in a single day. Gaul was overrun by them long before Caesar undertook its conquest. In some places they seem to have been numerous enough to evolve a real municipal organisation. That appears to have been the case with Genua (Genoa) in Liguria, before the Romans occupied it, and possibly with Ravenna. When Jugurtha attacked his cousin Adherbal in the Numidian city of Cirta (Constantine) there were in it enough Italian-born men to make a stout defence. Much further evidence exists of the extraordinary diffusion of traders from Italy over the world in Roman times. They even penetrated to India and China in the age of Augustus. And to a large extent these rovers settled down in the foreign lands and their progeny remained there. The saying of Seneca was true: "where the Roman has conquered, he settles down." In many regions Latin influence must have been strong before colonisation, in the official Roman sense, began.

But while Roman and non-Roman Italians abroad were compelled by interest to draw together, they tended to drift

more and more apart at home. The devastation wrought by the Hannibalic war changed the relations of Rome with many of her ancient allies. The story that Hannibal wiped out of existence four hundred towns (*oppida*) in the peninsula is doubtless fantastic, even if 'town' be very liberally interpreted. But it is certain that some cities in Italy were so depressed by the conflict as to be unable to fulfil the duties to the suzerain which were defined by treaty. Twelve important Latin colonies made in 209 a declaration to that effect. Livy calls it a revolt, but his own narrative shows that the towns themselves asserted their inability to carry out their stipulated duties. They were left alone by the Senate for five years, and then severely punished. Tribute was exacted from them, and this was a new fact in the history of the Romano-Italian confederacy. The registration of property and of burgesses within these communities was no longer left to the local magistrates, nor were the principles of the registration permitted to be settled by the towns themselves. In these respects they were subjected to the control of the Roman censors. Livy asserts that a quota of troops was demanded of these colonies which was thrice as great as before, and that when they perceived the Romans ready to use force against them, they easily met the requirement. This detail may justly be suspected of untruth. The twelve Latin colonies were among the oldest of the whole series; the newest of them was Carseoli, founded in the Aequian land in 298 B.C. Only four of the colonies which were of older foundation than Carseoli, and still retained the Latin status, continued faithful. These were Signia, Norba, whose splendid ancient walls attest its early importance, Pontia (Ponza) on one of the series of islands lying to the west of the Campanian coast, and Saticula in the Samnite country. The 'loyal' Latin colonies were mainly in districts far removed from the original home of the Latin race, and some were surrounded by barbarians. The 'disloyal' were all comparatively near Rome, and in regions whose Latinisation must have been fairly advanced; in regions too, which had not suffered greatly from the ravages

of the war. The explanation of the facts is not difficult. In those parts of Italy which were exposed to the fury of the struggle, the government could not demand much service of the towns beyond their own defence, whereas the allies who were not exposed to attack were drained of troops for distant campaigns. One complaint which the Latin colonies made before their 'revolt,' was that for seven or eight years their men who had fought at Cannae had been kept in Sicily and treated as cowards in disgrace. Perhaps Sp. Carvilius, the senator, had foreseen this discontent when, immediately after the disaster at Cannae, he made his memorable proposal, that the seats in the Roman Senate left vacant by the losses in the war should be filled by Latins. It met with contemptuous rejection. Clearly the struggle with Hannibal brought about an estrangement in feeling and sentiment between the Romans and some of their oldest allies, those who had been most closely bound to them by ties of kinship, religion, and law. How long the humiliating conditions imposed on the twelve colonies were maintained is difficult to say. The tax payable by them was assessed precisely in the same manner as the property tax (*tributum*) which the Romans themselves paid. After 168 B.C. this tax was no longer exacted at Rome, and most probably it was not required of the colonies.

A far greater breach was, however, made in the confederacy by the punishment which fell on cities and peoples which had cast in their lot with Hannibal. The vague and inconsistent language of the ancient authorities makes it far from easy to determine the extent of the assistance which the Carthaginians received from the peoples of Italy. Some careless passages in ancient writers represent it as far greater than a critical examination of the whole existing evidence shows it to have been in fact. Among the chief defaulters from the Roman confederation were the men of Capua, to whose inhabitants the name 'Campanians' (*Campani*) specially belongs. After the defeat of the Romans at Cannae, they sent a demand to the Senate that in future one of the two consuls at the head of the Roman state should always be a Campanian. This

was an example of that insolence (*Campana superbia*) which was always attributed to the men of Capua. On receiving a peremptory refusal, they joined the Punic alliance and remained in it from 215 to 211 B.C. When the town was recaptured by the Roman forces it, along with its dependent towns, was severely punished, though, if the familiar legend were true, it would have deserved the gratitude of the conquering power for having supplied Hannibal and his army with the luxuries that enervated their frames and their courage. A generation or two later Capua might have suffered the fate of Carthage, Corinth, and Fregellae, and have been cleared away from the face of the earth. Now the Romans were content with the execution of a number of the Campanians who were considered most guilty, the sale of others into slavery, the transplantation of others into Etruria and Latium, and the political degradation of all but a few of the rest. Capua was ejected from the Italian municipal confederation. Its communal autonomous institutions were destroyed, and only such forms of self-government as belonged to the rural district (*pagus*) were left to it. The territory of the town became technically a part of the 'national estate' of the Roman people (*publicus ager*), and its occupants in general paid rent to the Roman treasury. The right of contracting valid marriages with Romans was taken away. A certain number of loyalists seem, however, to have gone unpunished. When the city revolted, three hundred Campanian knights who were serving with the Romans in Sicily were allowed to retain their 'passive citizenship' and were registered among the citizens of Cumae. The enrolment was antedated to the day before that on which Capua had rebelled. Since it is recorded that in 162 B.C. the rights of a number of occupants of Campanian land were purchased by Rome, we may presume that among the owners were loyal Campanian families who had been allowed to retain their land without payment of rent. Some of the disabilities which were imposed were of brief duration. In 189 the censors ordered the registration of all Campanians at Rome; that

is to say, the old 'passive burgess' rights were conceded to them again; and in the following year not only was the privilege of contracting legal marriage with Romans restored, but such marriages as had taken place in the interval were validated. Yet the old municipal government was not re-established. The rich territory of Capua, apart from some portions which were sold or left to individuals by the Romans after the city was retaken, and the districts which were afterwards attached to the citizen colonies of Volturnum, Liternum and Puteoli, remained till the age of Caesar the property of the Roman people and supplied to their exchequer no inconsiderable portion of its revenue. The three burgess colonies planted on it took away but little land, as the colonists numbered, according to ancient practice, no more than three hundred in each settlement, and one of them, Puteoli, was actually without any proper territory till a late date. This 'ager Campanus' included what was known as the 'campus Stellatis,' a fertile region to the north of the Volturnus, stretching on to the Massic mountain. No doubt, in one way or another, the Campanians had for the most part acquired full Roman burgess rights long before the great enfranchisement which ensued on the Social War.

The other changes in the Italian confederacy which were brought about by the contest with Hannibal were chiefly in the south of the peninsula. This region, where the Greeks planted many cities which had flourished mightily, had to a large extent lost its prosperity before the Romans entered it. The invading Bruttians and Lucanians had captured and reduced to comparative insignificance a number of Hellenic towns, among them some whose coins are among the most exquisite productions of Greek art. The fierce struggles of Greeks with Greeks, and of Greeks with barbarians, and the ambition of marauding potentates, Dionysius of Syracuse, Alexander of Molossus, Agathocles and Pyrrhus, had desolated the land. The enforced or voluntary alliance of a number of places with Hannibal carried the ruin further, and after that time the whole district which had proudly called itself 'Great

Greece' (*Magna Graecia*) counted for little in the history of Italy and the empire.

More than all other peoples of the south the Bruttians suffered. The nation had a close federation of towns, but none of them were, it appears, of much consequence. Livy calls them "ignoble." At first they were dependent upon, or in alliance with, the Lucanians; both peoples appear to have invaded the south from Samnium about 400 B.C. The Bruttians became independent about 356 B.C. They had a great reputation for the kind of guerilla warfare which easily runs into brigandage. Rome first came into permanent relation with them during the war with Pyrrhus, and for a time they were favoured allies. The individual cities in Bruttium were restricted to the coinage of bronze, but the Bruttian federation enjoyed the right of issuing gold and silver also, long after other allies were deprived of it; down indeed to the time of the catastrophe which befel them when Hannibal fled across the sea. We have but few details of the fate which the people met at Roman hands. We hear vaguely of the capture of some cities by the Roman forces and of the surrender of others, but we are not told how they were treated. The famous Hellenic city of Locri suffered cruelly during the war, and in the end was allowed to keep its old status of federated city. The same was the case with Poetelia, and with Regium on the straits of Messina. Two old Greek towns became Roman colonies; Tempsa (Temesa) and Croton, of ancient fame. The old rival of Sybaris had lamentable fortune in the war, and its establishment as a Roman colony failed to bring back its old prosperity. Most likely Consentia, the 'metropolis' of the Bruttians, as Strabo calls it, kept its municipal freedom. As to the fate of the mass of the Bruttian people, there is doubt. A story is told by several ancient writers, that they were shut out from the military service to which they had been bound, as being unworthy to be soldiers, and were forced to perform menial functions as servants of Roman magistrates both at home and abroad. They were famous as 'double tongued' (*bilingues*), speaking Oscan and Greek;

and their Greek made them useful servants in foreign lands.

We have a fragment of a speech delivered by old Cato the Censor against a consul or ex-consul who had maltreated some of the allies. On a trivial occasion he had caused leading men in one of the allied communities to be flogged by 'Bruttians.' It has been supposed that the whole Bruttian people were placed in the class of 'dediticii,' enemies who had surrendered without stipulation. The Romans sometimes granted to their foes in such circumstances quite generous terms; but the phrase 'dediticii' is often used in a narrow sense, meaning that the surrendered people have been left entirely without any agreed rights. There is certainly much exaggeration in the inferences which have been drawn from some of the few ancient passages bearing on this matter. We cannot determine the amount of confiscation of territory which took place, but in Bruttium, and in the whole of southern Italy, it must have been considerable, as is shown by the fact that about twenty colonies were planted there within a few years after the war ceased.

It is equally impossible to discern precisely what punishment was inflicted on other peoples of the south. The Lucanians had first entered into relations with Rome when Alexander of Molossus invaded southern Italy, but the friendship had been repeatedly broken. The only important towns in Lucania were either Greek or, like Posidonia, Metapontum and Laus, had been wrested from the Greeks by the Lucanians. Latin colonists were sent to Posidonia (Paestum) in 273 B.C., and the town was for some reason favoured, for while all other places in Italy ceased to issue coins when the Roman franchise was given generally, Paestum coined bronze right down to the age of Augustus and Tiberius. It seems to have been regarded as a Greek city, in spite of its Latin colony, for it was bound by treaty to supply ships, like the other Hellenic coast towns. Elea, the famous home of Parmenides, Zeno, and the Eleatic school of philosophy, continued to be a federated city, which the Romans called Velia; and Heraclea

retained its old and very favourable treaty rights. Thurium, established by the Athenians in 443 B.C., had flourished and been for a time the greatest city in southern Italy, but had declined, as is shown by the cessation of its coinage from about 300 B.C. till the Romans sent Latins there in 193 B.C. and renamed it 'Copia,' the city of plenty. It was about this time that fantastic names of the sort began to be given to new foundations. Valentia occurs in several places; other examples are Potentia, Fidentia, Pollentia, Florentia, Placentia, Faventia. Superstition prompted this practice and the propitious name was expected to bring good luck. It will be remembered that when the Latin colony was established at Maloeis or Maleventum the name was changed, for superstition's sake, to Beneventum. Similarly, at Rome, men with well-omened names were chosen to begin the voting in the assemblies. Strabo includes the Lucanians under the same condemnation as the Bruttians, with regard to the humiliating service which was required of them. And he tells the same tale of a people called the Picentini, whose town of Picentia lost its autonomy. This was situated near the coast south of Salernum, on the extension of the Appian way. These Picentini are worthy of a passing notice, because of the tradition which asserts that the Romans transferred them *en masse* from Picenum on the eastern side of the peninsula. As we have had occasion to see, the transference of large masses of people from one region to another was not common in the early days of Rome, but it became increasingly frequent as time went on, especially as a means of taming barbarians who offered an obstinate resistance. About 180 B.C. two detachments of a Ligurian tribe, numbering respectively forty thousand and seven thousand, were drafted into Samnium and settled there, with all needful assistance from the Roman government, on land which had been at some time taken from the Samnites. These formed two communities, called Ligures Baebiani, and Ligures Corneliani, named from the magistrates who carried out the migrations; and these two communities are known to us from Latin inscriptions of the imperial age. So too, later on, many

thousands of Ligurians were transported into the valley of the Po. We shall encounter a number of similar measures when we come to review the Romanisation of the provinces.

Much more than Bruttium or Lucania was Apulia a region with important cities of native origin. These were deeply imbued with Greek influences, though few Greeks settled in the land. Municipalism was far advanced among the Apulians when Rome first came into contact with them, and we hear nothing of federations such as existed among the Lucanians and Bruttians, who still retained much of the character of the Samnites from whom they had sprung. Yet there were Oscan-speaking elements in Apulia too, as well as Messapian. In this district Hannibal met with comparatively little support, and in consequence, the relation of the towns to the Roman power was not extensively changed. One important place which suffered punishment was Arpi in the north, in the territory of which, at Sipontum, a colony was settled. Some of the Apulian communities, Canusium for example, flourished till a late date. Even in the age of Horace, the inhabitants were bilingual, speaking Greek as well as Latin.

The district which the Romans called Calabria was the south-east extremity of Italy, between the Adriatic and the Gulf of Tarentum. The modern Calabria is the ancient Bruttian land, and the name was not transferred till about the eighth century of the Christian era. The ancient Calabria was the country of the Messapians or Iapygians, whose dialect was a strongly marked member of the Italic group. Towns were not numerous in the region; here, as elsewhere, there are some which are only known by their coinage. The two most important places were Brundisium, where Latins were settled in 244 B.C., and the proud city of Tarentum, the colony of Sparta. As the other Hellenic cities of southern Italy declined, Tarentum rose in wealth and power, mainly by foreign commerce. A conspicuous feature in Tarentine history was the tendency to seek aid against Italic enemies from Greece proper, which proved fatal in the end. First Archidamus, king of Sparta, came over (338 B.C.), then Alexander

of Molossus (330), then Cleonymus (314), and finally Pyrrhus (281). From 272 to 212 Tarentum continued to be in free alliance with Rome, but in the latter year it revolted against the suzerain, and held out for some years. After the Hannibalic war Tarentum, in spite of its enmity, retained some municipal liberty, perhaps in consequence of the powerful patronage of old Fabius Maximus, who had taken the place from the Carthaginians. We hear little of the town after this until it obtained the Roman franchise in accordance with the Julian law of 90 B.C. Its importance seems to have steadily dwindled, and the Gracchan colony of Neptunia, established in its territory, did not flourish.

We have little material for tracing the growth of disaffection among the Italian allied cities, which culminated in that greatest paradox of Roman history, the Social War, in which the allies, after striving to become Roman, then turned to the creation of an independent state, until imminent ruin forced the Romans to yield the original demand. Tales are told of the arrogance with which the lowest Roman magistrates and even private Romans treated the most dignified personages in the municipal towns. When the younger Gracchus proposed his enfranchising law, he found matter for telling oratory in these incidents. There is clear evidence to show that the governing aristocracy of Rome rapidly deteriorated in character after the Second Punic War, and lost that sense of justice and moderation which had done quite as much to build up the Roman supremacy as had ever been achieved by force of arms. It is equally clear that the Roman citizens at large retained much of the ancient spirit which their rulers, as a body, had lost. Measures to check oppression and injustice practised upon the allies never ceased to be popular at Rome, so long as the Republic lasted. Not a few careers of aristocratic leaders were checked or spoiled by popular indignation against outrages which they perpetrated or allowed to be perpetrated upon the allies or subjects of Rome. Anyone who studies the career of the great Marcellus, or of the elder Scipio, to say nothing of minor men, will find this fact

conspicuously exemplified. But the Roman burgess was slow to realise that the only effectual remedies for the evils which he recognised would be so drastic as to involve a reconstruction of the constitution under which he lived. The cases of the Italian and the extra-Italian allies were very different in one profoundly important respect. We have seen that there was growing up at this time a feeling of what may be roughly described as Italian, in contrast to Roman nationality. It was natural that Italians should seek to become the political equals of the Romans, while at the same time they maintained a consciousness of natural superiority to the subjects of the empire outside the peninsula. But the barrier between Italy and the empire beyond crumbled away on its first contact with the imperial system.

Among the greater grievances of the Italian allies, the burden of foreign military service was prominent. The external empire had been won for Rome mainly by their efforts and was secured at a far greater cost to them than to the Romans themselves, while none of the material benefits accrued to them. It is doubtful whether, in calling for contingents, the government observed any longer the old treaty conditions. The Latin and the allied soldier could not now feel himself the equal of his Roman comrade ; the spirit of the brave Praenestines who had defended Casilinum against Hannibal was no longer possible. The difference between the Roman and the non-Roman soldier was accentuated by the passing of the famous Porcian law, which forbade commanders to subject Romans to the indignity of corporal punishment.

It is clear that even in Italy the government no longer accorded to the allies with the old scrupulous fidelity those privileges which were guaranteed to them by their treaties. Most of the compacts were 'sacrosanct,' that is to say, their inviolability was secured in the same manner as the personal inviolability of the tribunes of the commons at Rome. Already in 207 the Senate had disregarded, in the case of some of the burgess colonies, what they described as a 'sacrosanct' privilege, that of freedom from service in the legion. The

decrees of the Senate concerning the Bacchanalian conspiracy (so called) in 186, which have been preserved to us in a famous inscription, affected citizens, Latins and allies equally, and the criminal commissions then issued to try suspected persons condemned and executed all classes of Italians alike. As the 'fair alliance' (*aequum foedus*) protected the allied communities in their legal and criminal jurisdiction, these decrees of the Senate must have invaded seriously the autonomy of many city states. A few years later the new attitude of the government was illustrated by its action in an arbitration between the cities of Neapolis (Naples) and Nola respecting the boundaries of their territories. Both communities had shown unwavering loyalty towards Rome. Nola had been the main support of the Roman cause in Campania while Hannibal was in possession of Capua. The noble arbitrator, whom Cicero condemns, induced each town by trickery to cede some of its land, which he adjudged to the Roman people.

Soon after the Hannibalic war infringement of the rights of the allied cities began to be made, not only by loose administrative action, but by direct enactment of the Roman legislative assemblies. In the year 193 B.C. the Senate had under consideration the evils caused by usury, which flourished in spite of continual attacks upon it from time immemorial. To escape the Roman repressive laws, the usurers conducted their business under cover of citizens of allied communities, who were not amenable to the severe Roman rules. The Senate at first tried to check this trick by decreeing that the disputes about debt should in such cases be tried by Roman law or local law at the option of the debtor. Undoubtedly this was a glaring infraction of the autonomy of most allied states, which were free to legislate for themselves as they pleased, and would have the right to decide suits arising within their own communities by their own law, or to have that law recognised by the courts at Rome. In the same year, however, by direction of the Senate a tribune carried a statute which provided that in cases of debt the Roman courts should take cognisance of Roman law only. This was a still greater

inroad on the liberty of the city commonwealths. Doubtless, if the records were not so defective, we should hear of many similar assertions of authority by the Roman comitia, in defiance of the old obligations created by treaties with the city commonwealths.

Undoubtedly, when peace was finally secured to Italy, and internal commerce was furthered by the construction of great highways through the land, a drift towards unity of legal system was inevitable, and this was in many cases recognised by the municipalities themselves. After the Hannibalic War sentiment also ran in this direction, even where 'particularism' had earlier prevailed. Until 193 B.C. the principle had obtained, and had been scrupulously observed by Rome, that no law made at Rome bound the allied states unless they voluntarily incorporated it in their own legal code. The citizens of a community which took this course were technically said 'fundi fieri,' the meaning of which is 'to become bound' by the statute in question. Even the Roman franchise was not thrust upon unwilling cities. An act of each local legislature was needed to carry out this all-important change. Livy tells us that when the Hernican people yielded to Rome in 306 B.C. three of their cities were left with the old constitutions, because they were unwilling to accept the 'passive franchise' which was offered to them. And the old rule still held good when the great enfranchisement came about in 90 B.C. One of the most famous Oscan inscriptions, known as the 'lex Bantina,' appears to be an act of the legislature of the little town of Bantia in northern Lucania, by which some enactment made at Rome was adopted by the local body politic there. In all probability this assimilation of local law to the law of Rome had made very considerable progress before the great levelling process was carried out in consequence of the Social War. But details are wanting in the sources which we possess for the history of the time. There is some evidence, however, of approximation between the Roman forms of administration and those in the local communities. Old titles of magistrates in many cases fell into disuse, and Roman designations were

adopted. Some illustrations of this fact will come before us when we make a general survey of Italy as it was after the great unification. The impulse among non-Romans in Italy to imitate things Roman was in the century after the battle of Zama as strong as it became throughout the Western provinces on the establishment of the empire; but the allies and subjects of Rome outside Italy were never compelled to force their way inside the pale of the Roman burgess body by storm. The lesson of the Social War was never forgotten.

Soon after the close of the Second Punic War we find the Roman government sharply at variance with the Latins, in particular. We have had occasion to note that those who belonged to the older communities had a certain privilege of settlement at Rome, and limited access to the citizenship there. But apparently many Latins who had no such legal right had obtained a place on the censors' lists of burgesses. To test the validity of claims must have been a difficult matter, and there is reason to believe that in all periods of Roman history considerable numbers of men were able to acquire the franchise rather by means of unchecked use and wont than by technical qualification. In 187 B.C. the Latin towns complained to the Roman Senate that their population was being depleted by migration to Rome, and all those who could be proved to have transplanted themselves in the preceding seven years were compelled by decree of the Senate to return to their original domiciles. Ten years later Latin envoys made the same complaints and asserted that if a complete remedy were not found, they would soon be unable to supply their contingents of soldiers to the army. At the same time the Samnites and Paelignians declared a similar grievance, in that 4000 families from their districts had migrated to the great Latin city of Fregellae. Frauds were alleged to have been practised. The law allowed the Latins of the older communities to come to Rome and be enrolled as burgesses there, if they left behind them in their town of origin a son. In order to evade this requirement, they made a sham sale of their children to some Roman, and left them behind in their

native town. The Roman then manumitted them, whereon they entered the ranks of the freedmen who were citizens, and were able to rejoin the father in Rome. Other Latins would adopt a son in their native place, and leave him behind in mock fulfilment of the law. Many again had not taken the trouble to circumvent the law, but had treated it with contempt. The requests made both by the Samnites and by the Latins that the practices of which they complained should be stopped, were granted. This time a statute was passed by one of the consuls, C. Claudius Pulcer, exactly on the lines of the decree which the Senate had made ten years before. Apparently that decree had either been laxly carried out, or many Latins who had been then ejected from Rome had been allowed to return. At the same time measures were taken to stop the fraudulent manumissions. But apparently no permanent machinery was established for preventing the transmigrations in future, apart from the frauds. At the census which followed in 173, a consul addressed the people, ordering that the statute should be observed, but future censors might be as lax as some of their predecessors had been. These events show how immense a change had come over the spirit of the Latin allies with regard to the value of the Roman franchise, as compared with their own autonomous burgess rights. The allied cities must have fallen more and more under Roman control, with the diminution of their population. It was always open to the Senate to insist on the duties defined by treaty being strictly performed. It is said that the Claudius who passed the disfranchising law was the first magistrate who, on his military triumph, distinguished between Roman and Latin soldiers in giving the customary largess. The Latin troops, having received half the Roman portion, marched in silence behind their general's triumphal carriage, instead of singing the uncouth extempore songs in which the men usually delighted at such times. The same Claudius had urged that lands in Liguria from which he had driven the enemy should be divided among individual settlers. In 173 a commission carried out the suggestion. Latins were allowed to participate

in the division, but their allotments were only a third in size of those which the Romans received. This is notable, as in the Latin colonies, the last of which had been established eight years earlier, the assignations were on a much more liberal scale than in the Roman burgess colonies.

About this time another avenue to the Roman franchise was narrowed or rather was nearly closed. About 194 B.C. the Roman colonies which were being founded at Puteoli, Salernum and Buxentum proved to be so unpopular with the citizens that volunteers from among them to the needful number were not forthcoming. Some men of Ferentinum, one of the three old Hernican towns which had refused the 'passive franchise' in 306 B.C., offered themselves as colonists and were enrolled, and at once regarded themselves as Romans. The Senate gave a decision that they had not acquired the Roman status. Livy sees in their claim an attempt to open up a new road to the Roman citizenship, but there is good reason to think that until this time the founders of burgess colonies were allowed full discretion to admit non-Romans, and that their authority was now severely restricted, but not abolished. When the maritime colonies of Potentia and Pisaurum were established in 184, two of the three commissioners for their foundation were sons of M. Fulvius Nobilior, the patron of Ennius and conqueror of Aetolia. By their favour Ennius was registered as colonist, and was enabled to make his famous boast in a line of his great epic: "nos sumus Romani qui fuimus ante Rudini," "Now am I Roman who before was citizen of Rudiae." We find that by the colonial law of Saturninus, Marius was designated a commissioner with the right of making three Roman citizens in each colony. This may have become the usual practice after the Senate made its declaration in 194. It may be further noted that Roman commanders in the field seem to have had the right, theoretically unlimited, of promoting non-Roman soldiers to the Roman citizenship for valour in battle. The offer of this reward to the Praenestines who defended Casilinum in 214 B.C. most likely proceeded from the commander of the army, and not from the government.

Marius enfranchised on the field of battle with the Cimbrians two whole cohorts of soldiers from Camerinum, an Umbrian allied community which had entered into treaty with Rome on favourable terms. This act of Marius was not invalidated, nor does it seem to have needed or received any further confirmation. Objection was indeed taken to it, but apparently because it was not customary to make such considerable use of the general's power. Many instances are recorded in literature and inscriptions of persons who were enfranchised in the same manner. In exceptional instances some special power was conferred on generals by statute.

The case of the men of Ferentinum deserves notice for another reason. Livy calls them 'Latins.' But after 306 Ferentinum remained a federated allied town. It has been supposed that many old towns near Rome were formally transferred from the class of 'federated' cities in the narrower sense to the Latin category, and so became part of the 'Latin name.' This is a dubious inference from a few phrases in writers who are not remarkable for minute accuracy. The Latinisation of the towns in question must have been social rather than political. They, in all probability, assimilated themselves voluntarily in many respects to the Latin communities near them, and dialects like the Hernican were dying out rapidly in the second century. So it was not unnatural that the names 'Latium' and 'Latin' should be very loosely applied.

When the series of laws which began with the 'lex Calpurnia' in 149 were passed, to check extortion and oppression of allies and subjects by Roman magistrates, the citizenship was held out as a reward for a successful prosecution of an offender by a Latin. The inscription which preserves in part one of these statutes, the 'lex Acilia,' enacted as a consequence of legislation by the younger Gracchus, makes provision for the refusal by the successful Latin of the proffered gift. Apparently, there were still Latins who were unwilling to exchange their own status for the Roman. In these cases they were to be allowed the 'provocatio,' which had hitherto belonged only to the Roman, and to the possessors of the

'passive franchise'; the right to appeal for a trial by a Roman assembly, or to a standing criminal court. So far as the extant fragments show, this privilege was not extended by the law to the non-Latin allies; but it may have been granted in a lost portion of the statute.

With the advent of Tiberius Gracchus the allies were sucked into the vortex of Roman politics. The man who saved 20,000 Italian lives at Numantia by negotiating the compact which the Senate rejected, must from the first have been an attractive figure to the allies of Rome. It is difficult to say precisely in what manner the Latins and Italians were affected by the great agrarian movement which he initiated. Many scholars have supposed that his land bill deprived them of estates which were guaranteed to them by treaties binding them to Rome. Of this there is no evidence worthy the name. The actual 'territoria' of the different towns and communities must have been respected. No land can have been touched which was not justly part of the Roman national estate. The age of public land robbery was not yet. That fashion was first adumbrated by Saturninus and then made real by Sulla. Cicero, the only early ancient authority who makes direct reference to the matter, declares that Ti. Gracchus "was careless of" (*neglexit*) the legal rights and treaty privileges of the Italian and Latin allies; he does not assert that these privileges and rights were actually violated.

The statement as it stands seems to be merely a bit of lax abuse. It appears that Tiberius had at heart in some manner the interests of all Italians alike. In a famous fragment of one of his speeches there is a pathetic wail, not for those who fight for Rome, but for the men who are champions of Italy. And if Appian may be believed, all Italy welcomed his agrarian statute as a new charter for herself and not merely for Rome. There were, however, it seems, Latins and Italians who championed, and Latins and Italians who loathed the law. It is natural to suppose that the former were the poorer, the latter the wealthier class. But the records do not enable us to define the interests of either class in the

measure. If any portions of the Roman public land had been granted by definite agreement to allied communities for their enjoyment, without actual property in them having been made over, it is most unlikely that Gracchus attempted to cancel such agreements. If individual allies had been permitted to enjoy precarious holdings in Roman national land, the withdrawal of the privilege could hardly be treated by the municipalities and peoples as a grievance of their own. It is possible that in some parts of Italy land had been annexed by the Roman government, but never effectively occupied by Romans, so that the local bodies were still permitted to deal with it as though they had not lost their title to it. There is some little evidence that such was the case. But there is not enough in this consideration to meet the difficulty. A more natural explanation of the circumstances seems to be that all Italian communities had their land question as well as Rome. Most of them were aristocratically governed, and the common land which all possessed would naturally fall into few hands, as in the case of Rome. The success of the agrarian measure of Gracchus would make certain the success of similar measures everywhere. The feeling that "proximus ardet Ucalegon" would account for the panic of the richer and the enthusiasm of the poorer among the non-Romans throughout Italy.

Such discontent as existed among the Italians when the Gracchan agrarian commission got to work is referred by Appian, practically our only authority, to the disputes which arose concerning the boundaries between land that was Roman public land, and such land as was not. Looking to the evidence of the jealous care which the municipalities exercised in maintaining the boundaries of their territories, we cannot suppose that communities as such were greatly affected. Those Italians whose champion Scipio became must have been scattered individuals, probably of the richer section. After Scipio made the famous speech, in which he attacked the commission, on the last day of his life, he was escorted to his house in triumph, Cicero says, by citizens, allies and Latins; but this broad statement contains obviously a great

exaggeration. In the agrarian law of 111 B.C., portions of which have come down to us, inscribed on bronze, there is a reference to land which had formerly been assigned to "colonies or municipia, or quasi-colonies or quasi-municipia." These obscure words do not help us much here. The meaning of 'municipia' is not certain. The 'municipia' proper, the cities with the passive franchise, had changed their status. Possibly, even at this early date, towns with full Roman franchise outside Rome may have been included in the category of 'municipia,' but it is far from certain; possibly too the Latin towns. And what is meant by communities which are only 'quasi-colonies' or 'quasi-municipia' cannot be elucidated. But in any case land allotted by public authority to civic bodies of whatever kind must have been left intact by agrarian legislation generally, until a later time.

Three years after Scipio died another 'alien act' similar to the Claudian law of 177 was passed by a tribune, M. Iunius Pennus, who is reputed to have been an enemy of the younger Gracchus. The only description of the measure which we possess is given by Cicero, who states as its purpose not the removal of unqualified men from the burgess roll, but the expulsion of all foreigners from the capital. But he classes with it the 'lex Papia' of 65 B.C. which certainly had not that scope. In the inquiries which followed, it was proved that a man had been illegally registered as a citizen whose son had actually been consul in 130. The intention of the act, whatever its terms, was to check an agitation on the part of the allies to secure the Roman franchise, which had already become formidable. In the following year a democratic consul, M. Fulvius Flaccus, published the earliest proposal for a wholesale enfranchisement of Italian allied states. If Appian may be trusted, none were omitted. But the old principle, that the Roman franchise was not to be forced on unwilling recipients, was observed. There were still some who did not desire to receive the gift, and for these the right of appeal, the foundation of the Roman citizen's liberty, was provided. It must be supposed that the franchise was to be conferred

on communities, not on individuals. But the bill provided the individual with a means of escape from the general decision. The measure of Fulvius was not carried to a vote, and apparently was not even brought by him before the Senate for discussion. It is described by Appian as intended to buy off the opposition which he assumes to have been general among the Italians to the proceedings of the land commission. They preferred, he says, the citizenship to their lands. The failure of the proposal, which became certain before the end of the consul's year of office, had a startling result which is irreconcilable with Appian's assertion. Fulvius was ordered into Gaul to assist the city of Massilia in repelling a barbarian attack. His departure was the signal for the so-called revolt of Fregellae, the greatest of all the Latin colonies. No difficulties created by the land commissioners will account for the event; the cause must lie deeper in a discontent which profoundly affected the whole population of this splendid city. There is some reason to think that Fregellae was in communication with the other Latin towns, with the intention of pressing the common grievances upon the attention of the Roman government. A speech, extant still in Cicero's day, was made about this time in the Roman Senate, on behalf of the citizens of Fregellae and the Latin colonies generally, by an orator from Fregellae, L. Papirius by name. It is possible that it may have been delivered in support of the enfranchising measure of Fulvius. A single Latin town would not 'rebel' or 'revolt' without the expectation that it would receive a general support. But it may well be doubted whether anything that could properly be called a rebellion took place. L. Opimius, one of the praetors of the year, received unconditional surrender of the town without fighting. It seems that the Romans, on some not very serious pretext, marched a force to the city, which was unprepared to resist; and Opimius was admitted within the gates by the treachery of a certain Pullus Numitorius, clearly a leading man, since his daughter became the first wife of Antonius Creticus, the father of the triumvir. It is not surprising that the claim which Opimius

made for a triumph on account of his inglorious victory was rejected by the Senate. When Cicero speaks of a "Fregellane" war, in the same breath as the "Marsic," he uses rhetoric. There is vague talk in the ancient authorities of a general 'conspiracy' among the Italians at this time, which is an euphemism, or rather the opposite of an euphemism, for a discussion among sufferers by injustice. Gaius Gracchus and Fulvius were both charged with abetting this 'conspiracy'; according to Plutarch, Gracchus cleared himself "brilliantly" of the accusation. Fregellae was utterly destroyed, by all accounts, but we hear of no other punishment having been inflicted on the inhabitants. There was a district in Rome itself which bore the name of Fregellae, and it has been conjectured that this came from the settlement there of the dispossessed Fregellans. In view of the alien act of Iunius Pennus, the conjecture seems improbable. But the ancient temples were left standing at Fregellae, and round them a community seems to have gathered once more; for in the age of Augustus there was certainly a municipal corporation there. In the collection of Cicero's letters there is one addressed in an uncertain year to the magistrates of an unnamed town, requesting them to exempt from taxation an estate held by a friend of his 'in the district of Fregellae' (*possessionem in agro Fregellano*). The town can be none other than Fabrateria Nova, which was founded as a Roman colony on land that had belonged to the old Fregellae. Cicero's words indicate that all its land was confiscated, and that some of it, though attached to the new colony, was still technically 'publicus ager,' either of Rome, or, more probably, of the colony itself. Fabrateria Nova must have been endowed with some land which had not belonged to Fregellae; otherwise a part of the municipal estate would not have been distinguished from the rest by being called 'the Fregellan land.' Possibly the Hernican town of Fabrateria Vetus parted with some of its land to the new community.

The example which the Romans made of the brilliant city of Fregellae was severe enough to curb the impatience of the allied municipalities for more than thirty years, during

which time their hopes of redress rose repeatedly, only to sink again. It has often been supposed that they desired the citizenship in order to share in the benefits of the Roman national estate, while on the other side it has been imagined that the Romans wished to confer the citizenship on all Italy in order that they themselves might win some benefit from the municipal lands. It is most improbable that any such considerations existed. On the one hand, the idea of satisfying all needy members of the townships, by allotments in the Roman 'publicus ager,' would at once have been seen to be chimerical, in view of the limits of the land. Whether by individual allotment or by participation in colonies which might be founded, few new citizens could benefit in this way. On the other hand it is absurd to suppose that the regions guaranteed by solemn compact to the municipalities could be thrown into hotch-potch and indiscriminately divided. This would have run counter to the municipal idea which was ingrained in men's minds at the time. The town and its territory formed an organic whole, and a town separated from the control of a definite territory would cease to be in the proper sense a town. The Italian claim was for social and political equality with the Roman—nothing less. But it was not unnatural that the mass of the Roman burgesses should shrink from conceding the demand. The magnitude of the change was in itself terrifying and aroused in the citizens at large the feeling which had led the government in 241 B.C. to put a stop to the extension of the Roman tribe-districts, and to check the Romanisation of non-Roman municipalities. The many cities in the one Roman state, as it existed, constituted already a felt anomaly; that the one state should comprise all Italian cities seemed an anomaly beyond all measure. The general body of citizens unquestionably sympathised with the allies in their reasonable complaints, but they could not be brought to see that enfranchisement was the only possible remedy. There is an interesting passage in the rhetorical treatise by an unknown author and addressed to Herennius, which was

written not more than forty years after the destruction of Fregellae. The writer was democratic in his sentiments and bewails the fate of so noble a city, and yet he condemns its treachery. It was treachery for a Latin town to demand the full privileges of the constitution. The language which he uses of the allies who took part in the Social War is similar. Such must have been the feeling of a vast number of Romans of all grades, not merely of the aristocrats alone. So the greatest tragedy of Roman history, the Social War, was heralded.

In his second tribunate of 122 B.C. Gaius Gracchus took up the cause of the allies, and proposed to give them the Roman citizenship, without qualification or exception. Some vague language used by ancient writers has led to the belief that he desired in some way to distinguish between Latins and other allies. The inference is not maintainable. No one knew the history of Italy outside Rome better than the historian Velleius Paterculus, who wrote in the latter part of the reign of Tiberius. His family belonged to a central Italian town, and only obtained burgess rights during the Social War. He explicitly states that the measure of Gracchus proposed to confer the Roman franchise on "all Italians," and that by it the boundaries of Italy would have been extended "almost to the Alps." But Gracchus seems to have gone further. Without waiting for his enfranchising bill to pass, he proposed in his colonial measure to allow allies to be enrolled as full citizens in the new colonies. Appian tells that the six thousand settlers who were planted at Carthage were drawn from the whole of Italy. The endeavour of Gracchus to make an organic state out of the loose Romano-Italic confederacy met with embittered opposition. What an ancient writer calls "a good and notable speech" was made against him by the consul Fannius, who had owed to Gracchus his election to the consular office. This was the one oratorical effort of Fannius, and critics afterwards made curious conjectures as to its real authorship. A few words quoted from it by Cicero seem to be a denunciation of some threat used by the great tribune. Perhaps what Fannius called a threat was

a demonstration of the danger of a refusal to remove the discontent which pervaded Italy. One appeal by Fannius took rather low ground. He dwelt on the inconvenience of increasing the number of those who were entitled to share in the delights of the theatre and the arena in the capital. The Latins thronged to Rome to cheer on their champion. But the Senate directed Fannius to issue a proclamation warning non-Romans to leave Rome and approach no nearer than five miles while voting proceeded in the assembly. Gracchus promised his official protection to any who chose to disobey the order, but it is probable that the consul had public opinion on his side, at least among the dwellers in the city, for the rustic Roman voters may have been differently minded. The order of expulsion must have contravened the definite rights of some whom it affected. Livius Drusus, the foe of Gracchus, who more than any other man compassed his ruin, regarded the allies no further than to propose to bestow on the Latins what would cost the Romans nothing, the right of appeal in criminal matters and freedom from scourging. These measures of Drusus, like his others, were dropped as soon as they had served their purpose.

The death of Gaius Gracchus led to the disappearance of the allies from the surface of Roman politics for twenty years. Then the career of Saturninus, a travesty of that of the Gracchi, brought them no good. Only a very risky inference from a most obscure passage of Appian has enabled scholars to assert that Saturninus contemplated an extensive enfranchisement of Italians in connexion with his law for allotting lands to settlers in the valley of the Po. He dishonestly and unsuccessfully proposed to treat as 'publicus ager' the districts which had been occupied for a brief space by the Cimbrians and Teutons, instead of reinstating the former owners. His colonial scheme was very extensive, comprising extra-Italian foundations, after the fashion of Gracchus, in Sicily, Achaia and Macedonia, and apparently in other lands. Also he desired to assign separately to veterans from the army of Marius holdings of unusual extent

(100 acres) in Africa. But these schemes had little effect, as they were soon swept out of existence by the reaction which led to his death. Only one of his colonies was actually created, the 'colonia Mariana' in Corsica.

Five years after Saturninus was killed, a fresh alien act was passed which broke the patience of the allies. It was the work of two consuls of especial wisdom, as Cicero says, L. Licinius Crassus the famous orator, and Q. Mucius Scaevola, one of a family renowned for uprightness of character and legal knowledge. Its fundamental principle was reasonable enough: it aimed at preventing unqualified men from enjoying the rights of the Roman burgess. But the inquiries which resulted seem to have been harshly carried out, and went beyond the proposed scope of the act. The existence of this measure is proof of the difficulty or rather impossibility of excluding from the censors' registers great numbers of men who had no technical title to enrolment. The tenderness of the government in respect to the enjoyment of holdings in the public land for which there was no title at law was in marked contrast with the severity exhibited towards vested, but technically illegal, interests in the franchise. It is not surprising that this 'lex Licinia Mucia' should have been the chief proximate cause of the mighty conflagration which we know as the Social War.

But before the final and fatal act of the drama was ushered in, a high-minded aristocrat, M. Livius Drusus the younger, son of the opponent of Gaius Gracchus, made a last effort to induce his countrymen to remove the Italian grievance. He approached reform from the senatorial point of view, but as he unfolded his scheme, it disclosed the Gracchan quality. He propounded a large measure for the creation of colonies in Italy and Sicily. It is said that some Italians stood to lose by it, because they held without definite title portions of the 'publicus ager' on which colonies would be settled. But it is most improbable that Drusus was neglectful in any way of Italian interests. In addition to his colonial project, he promulgated an agrarian proposal of the Gracchan type.

There is no reason to doubt that he intended citizens and allies alike to benefit by both projects. And beyond question, his bill for the extension of the franchise covered all non-Roman cities in what was then understood as Italy. His death by the hand of an assassin gave the signal for war. The struggle was envenomed by two events which occurred at its outset. A tribune known as Q. Varius Hybrida, whose distinctive third name, given to him in ridicule, indicated that he was not of pure Roman descent, carried a law to set up a criminal court, before which might be arraigned all citizens who were alleged to have trafficked with the allies, and to have aided and abetted them in their ambition. Then at Asculum in Picenum a proconsul and all his suite were murdered, along with every other Roman who was found in the place. The conduct of the proconsul had been arrogant and provocative, but, as Cicero says, the crime left a deep stain, not only on its perpetrators, but on the whole Italian cause. Immediately the flame of war ran through the Oscan-speaking lands, and fired some of the regions which bordered on them. The struggle was carried on mainly in and around the central Apennines; only in Campania and Apulia and round about Cannae was there much fighting in the plains. Next to the Samnites, the Marsi were prominent, so that the war was often afterwards called from their name. Some of the racial units did not act undividedly. Thus we hear of defeats inflicted on the Hirpini; yet the historian Velleius Paterculus boasts the achievements of an ancestor, who raised a force among the Hirpini in the Roman interest, and after many doughty deeds, was rewarded by a special gift of the citizenship and soon had the satisfaction of seeing two sons elected praetors. The Etruscans, Umbrians and Greeks were, on the whole, loyal to Rome at first, but after the disasters which the Romans suffered in the early part of the war, these peoples could no longer be trusted. It appears that the government had not ventured to call on all their allies to furnish contingents, according to their bounden duty. The Roman army was composed mainly of Romans and Latins,

with battalions summoned from abroad, Numidian and Spanish cavalry, for example. Never was the Roman power nearer to extinction. Only the full and free concession, by the celebrated 'lex Iulia,' of burgess rights to all communities in Italy which had not joined the rebels, averted the impending overthrow.

On the Italian side, the war was at the last not professedly undertaken for the purpose of obtaining entrance into the Roman commonwealth. All proposals for enfranchisement having been rejected, the discontented allies had entered on a war of secession. Had they succeeded, there would have been established in central and southern Italy a state coordinate with the Roman, possessing at least half the military forces of the peninsula. This was the prospect which broke the Roman repugnance to the enlargement of the body politic. Of the two evils full concession of the old rejected claim now seemed the lesser. The repentance brought about by calamity entailed the ruin of the author of the Varian commission. By a stroke of humour not unique in Roman history, but commoner in Greece, he was pronounced guilty by the very court which he himself had set up. The principle of the 'lex Iulia' was soon extended to the rebellious states, as they were conquered or submitted. The statute conferred the citizenship on communities, one by one, not on individuals. Nor was the new status forced upon any town. The express consent of each one of the city commonwealths was needed in order to render this law operative. Some of the federated states were so well satisfied with their actual condition that they were unwilling to accept the gift. This is known to have been the case with Naples and Heraclea, and obviously the feeling must at first have been widely prevalent, for in the second year of the war a 'lex Plautia Papiria' was enacted for the purpose of enabling citizens of towns which did not adopt the Julian law, to acquire the franchise. How the unwillingness of some communities to come within the Roman pale was overcome we are not told. But in the end none of the cities, whether loyal or rebellious, failed to be incorporated. Though some of the insurgents were hardly handled while the fighting

continued, yet no town was punished after it ceased, so far as is known; not even Asculum, which had initiated the contest by a massacre of Romans, nor other towns which had imitated the example. The contrast between the treatment of these cities, and that of Fregellae, less than forty years earlier, is marked.

We are left with little information as to the manner in which this great process of unification was carried out. One thing is certain, that no uniform municipal organisation was imposed on all the communities alike. We have seen that there had come about a gradual and natural approximation to a common form, through the steady imitation of Roman institutions by non-Roman peoples. When the revolting Samnites and their allies set up their new state, they followed with some closeness the lines of the Roman polity, and that is evidence of the strength of the impulse to copy things Roman. It is possible, but very far from certain, that the 'lex Iulia' laid down some broad principles which all enfranchised towns were bound to observe; but room was left for the maintenance of local peculiarities which long custom had endeared to the towns; and this elasticity must have helped to obviate any opposition that there may have been. From Rome a senatorial envoy was despatched to each community, who acted as its lawgiver, and provided it with the code which was to govern it in its new condition. The important inscription which is preserved on tablets found at Heraclea, and is commonly known as the 'lex Iulia municipalis,' makes reference in its last clause to those who by Roman enactment have been authorised to draw up statutes for the 'municipium fundanum'; that is to say for the township not originally Roman which has accepted the Roman franchise and a Roman form of law. The founders of a colony had to act as its legislators precisely in this manner. A most interesting fragment of the fundamental statute of Tarentum, which was laid down at this time, was discovered in 1894. Four magistrates (*quattuorviri*) are placed at the head of the municipality; two of them legal functionaries (*duoviri iuri dicundo*) and

two superintendents of markets and police (*duoviri aediles*). The Senate is constituted of ex-magistrates. A public assembly (*comitia*) is ordained, which is based on divisions of the town and its territory bearing the primitive Roman and Latin name of 'curiae.' Senators are to have a domicile in the town of a certain style, which is quaintly defined by the requirement that the roof of the house should contain fifteen hundred tiles. A large part of the inscription is concerned with matter which we know to have filled much space in these civic codes, fines for breaches of the law, especially by functionaries, and methods of enforcing payment. Strabo records that Tarentum was still Greek in character in his time. Yet the Gracchan 'colonia Neptunia' had been established there. Apparently it had not altogether broken the force of the Hellenic tradition, and if the fundamental statute were wholly preserved, we should probably find in it concessions to the Greek spirit which still survived.

After the settlement that followed on the Social War, during the remainder of the Republican period, new municipalities were not extensively created in Italy, excepting those which belonged to a new series of military colonies, with which we shall have to deal presently. One interesting example is that of Cingulum, a town high up on the eastern Apennine slope, in Picenum, near its northern border. Caesar mentions that his famous chief of the staff, Labienus, had organised this borough, and had "built it up" at his own cost. Yet while its founder joined Pompey at the beginning of the Civil War, its inhabitants eagerly welcomed Caesar. We must suppose that Labienus was a native of Cingulum, which was only a village (*vicus*); and that when he was tribune in 63 B.C. he passed an enactment authorising him to substitute an urban for a rural constitution and to become the lawgiver of the new township. A large number of small places in Italy obtained 'charters of incorporation,' as we should call them, a few immediately after the Social War, and many more by favour of Augustus and his successors. Labienus must have been permitted to take territory from some other municipality or municipalities, and to attach it to

the new corporation. He also endowed it with public buildings befitting its new dignity. Similarly a town in Picenum, called 'Urbs Salvia,' of some importance in the imperial age, seems to have owed its start in life as a municipality to the family of the Salvii, whom inscriptions show to have been settled in that town.

The consequence, then, of the 'lex Iulia' was that every civic body in Italy became Roman. In the north, in Cisalpine Gaul, there were three Latin colonies, Placentia, Cremona and Aquileia, which received the full franchise. Probably also Ravenna, which was a federated town, was similarly treated. It is likely, as has been said, that some rural communities were organised as 'municipia' at this time, either by direction of the Julian law, or of other particular enactments. But the unhappy Capua did not recover its civic institutions. Nor was the one federated state in Sicily, Messana, brought within the scope of the law, although its citizens claimed an Italian origin. The Roman citizenship was not allowed to overleap the narrow straits of Messina. The treatment of the northern part of the peninsula was peculiar. It still remained, technically, a foreign land, and the Roman cities within it stood in the same position as Narbo in Transalpine Gaul, which for about seventy years was the only Roman city on the far side of the Alps. The part of the province situated to the south of the Po was brought within the Roman municipal system. But a momentous step was taken, on the conclusion of the Social War, towards Romanising the Transpadane territory. The policy of Flaminius was resumed. The father of the great Pompey passed a measure which placed the inhabitants in the north of the Po valley, or most of them, in the same position as that in which the Latin towns had stood before the enfranchisement brought about by the Julian law. Just as communities which were not Roman by origin had been made Roman in a political sense, so in a political sense, the communities of Transpadane Gaul became Latin. We must suppose that there was a general reorganisation of the Celtic communities, by which such as were ripe for civic institutions

were remodelled on Latin lines. This was not the first time that the 'Latinitas,' the juridical name for that bundle of rights which the Latins possessed, had been bestowed on a non-Latin town. In 172 B.C. a petition came to Rome from Carteia in Spain, a place not far from Gibraltar. Roman veterans had settled there and married Spanish women, the marriages not being valid by Roman law. The Senate was asked to sanction some recognition that the children of these unions were partly Italian by origin. Then, no doubt by authority of the comitia, Carteia became a Latin city. It may be mentioned that some scholars believe this device to have been first applied to Agrigentum in Sicily; but the evidence for this view is unsatisfactory. The precedent established at Carteia was not extensively followed in the eighty years which succeeded. But it appears probable that the Latin status was bestowed upon the town of Valentia in Spain, where old soldiers settled about 138 B.C., and upon Palma and Pollentia in the Balearic isles, founded in the year when Gaius Gracchus died. The law of Pompeius marks an important epoch in the story of the Latinisation of western Europe; for the policy which it embodied was afterwards extensively pursued outside the bounds of Italy.

In connexion with the law of Pompeius, there comes into prominence another important political device. The towns in Cisalpine Gaul, which were municipally organised, had conspicuously large territories attached to them. But in addition to their 'territoria,' properly so called, control was given to them of districts inhabited by backward populations, unprepared to enter into the Romano-Latin municipal system, and still wedded to the ancestral Celtic tribal structure of society. The towns were made responsible for keeping in order these sections of the country. The subordinated rural communities were in the main left to their own ancient form of self government, but a general control and even a power of taxation were given to the towns. A district thus connected with a town centre, presumably of higher civilisation, is properly called 'attributa regio.' The advantages of this admirable

plan are obvious. It was a prudent extension to rude peoples of the principle of respect for local autonomy which had already been recognised in the case of peoples who were ready to enter on the Italic forms of civic life. The institution of the 'attributa regio' now first makes its appearance as a regular instrument of government on the outskirts of Roman civilisation, and we shall have occasion to observe that large use of it was made in the early organisation of tribes scattered round the Alps, in Gaul, and in Spain. But this policy was not altogether novel. Our first glimpse of the arrangement is afforded by the famous inscription of 116 B.C., recording the decision of two Minucii, arbitrators in a dispute concerning boundaries which arose between the municipality of Genua and some smaller communities that were 'attributed' to it. The law of Pompeius Strabo is an excellent example of the genius for decentralisation which the Romans showed in the early days of their empire. Any attempt to govern the barbarous regions entirely from the centre would have required the rapid creation of an immense bureaucracy, and that would undoubtedly have choked the empire to death long before it was full grown. A distinguished scholar, in the country of which it was said "les gouvernements changent, mais les bureaux restent," has lauded the Romans because they conquered the world "without bureaux." They were only able to achieve this because of their determined use of the municipality as the unit of their administration. As the influence of the Roman or Latin municipal centre spread in the attributed districts, new 'municipia' were carved out of them. When we survey the provinces examples of this proceeding will come before us.

The enfranchising laws did not at once put an end to Italian discontent, and the reason of this is not far to seek. Until the new citizens were assigned to particular tribe districts, or new districts were created for them, they could not exercise in full the privileges of Roman burgesses. This was felt immediately on the passing of the 'lex Iulia' and the 'lex Plautia Papiria,' because censors were appointed long

before the regular date, in order to carry out the registration. But the disturbed state of Italy rendered it impossible at the time. It is improbable that the enfranchising laws prescribed any particular method of distributing the newly made burgesses. Confused and contradictory accounts are given in our authorities, who imply the contrary, and even assert that some arrangement was adopted which would prevent the newcomers from overwhelming the old citizens by their numbers. It is more likely, looking at subsequent events, that the whole question remained open after the failure of the censors of 89 B.C. to carry out a registration. P. Sulpicius, the brilliant revolutionary tribune of the following year, actually carried a law which required that the Latins and Italians should be made members of the thirty-five tribes without distinction; that is to say that the boundaries of the old tribe-districts should be so changed and enlarged that the new districts should be included within them. But this law, like others of Sulpicius, was cancelled by Sulla's counter revolution. Next year again, the civil war which broke out between Cinna and Octavius, the consuls, had for its main cause the resumption by Cinna of the policy of Sulpicius. During the contest both parties promised to enfranchise the allies to the fullest extent. Cinna was driven out of Rome and returned with Marius to carry out an awful massacre. Naturally the allies supported the democrats. Some of their troops remained in the field till Sulla returned from the Mithridatic War, and fought against him at the battle of the Colline gate outside Rome. Two strong fortresses, Aesernia in Samnium and Nola in Campania, remained in possession of the Samnites during all this time. But the statement of Velleius that Cinna was able to enlist more than three hundred cohorts or thirty legions from among the allies is incredible. After the return of Marius, peace was not disturbed in the capital for several years, and there can be little doubt that the law of Sulpicius was re-enacted, though our authorities bear no explicit testimony. There were censors once more in 86 B.C., but they only carried out the enumeration of burgesses in a most imperfect manner.

How they treated the new citizens is not known. In 84, when negociations were proceeding between Sulla and the Senate, the question was not finally settled, and Sulla explicitly undertook not to disturb the right of the Italians to the fullest recognition. This agreement is said to have been embodied in a definite treaty. Yet the Samnites lent assistance to Sulla's opponents, and after the battle of the Colline gate, six or eight thousand of them were executed in cold blood. In the further commotions which ensued down to 70 B.C. the Italians played no particular part. They had obtained guarantees from both parties which satisfied them, but the conditions of the time rendered the franchise in a political sense worthless to new and old citizens alike. In 70 B.C. for the first time in twenty-two years a complete registration of burgesses was effected by censors, and we must suppose that then the Latin and allied communities were allotted their place in the system of tribes. The extant evidence makes it possible to discern in rough outline how this was accomplished. No regular clear-cut method was adopted. Some of the old national boundaries were not altogether effaced. Thus Samnium proper was nearly all assigned to one tribe, the 'Voltinia,' while most of the Umbrian cities were in the 'tribus Clustumina.' But there were anomalies everywhere, and in some regions the towns which lay near together were assigned to a number of tribe-districts. When 'Gallia Transpadana' was Romanised by Caesar he distributed the communities there among no fewer than fifteen different tribes. Thus the tribe-divisions became to a large extent chaotic and meaningless. The municipality was now all-important, and the tribe of little account. There is no real reason to suppose that the populations engaged in the great revolt were systematically penalised, although they were chiefly incorporated in a few tribes, eight or nine in all. No attempt was made to attribute equal political importance to the sections, or to give approximately equal value to each citizen's vote. Indeed the political significance of the tribe had practically passed away before the great expansion took

place. The tribe-name was a mere honorific label indicative of citizenship, and survived because of the inveterate Roman idea that no citizen's personal name was complete, unless it comprised a reference to a tribe. As the Roman citizenship was spread outside Italy, each newly enfranchised or newly established Roman city was nominally attached to one of the thirty-five tribes. But many of the new Romans must have been quite unable to explain the historic import of the tribe-badge. When Oriental cities were thus treated, the survival of old usage became particularly ludicrous. In the imperial age, the selection of the tribes for new or newly enfranchised cities was altogether capricious, and varied from emperor to emperor. When Caracalla made every municipality in the empire Roman, at least in name, the farce of distribution was no longer enacted.

# CHAPTER VI

## CHANGES IN THE ITALIAN MUNICIPAL SYSTEM AFTER THE SOCIAL WAR

THE ravages of the Social War and of the civil wars which succeeded it left many a noble Italian city desolate, and only a few of these ever recovered their old prosperity. In its great days Praeneste (Palestrina) was among the most splendid communities of Italy. Its magnificent site, 1300 or 1400 feet above the level of the sea, with the city planted in terraces on the mountain side, and a citadel towering more than a thousand feet above, and its position between the Apennines and the plains, marked it out for fame. It was well called the 'many-crowned city.' Its temple of Fortune was among the most celebrated in the Roman world. The patriotic pride of its citizens was proverbial in the time of Plautus and the older Cato. But its participation in the contest between Sulla and the younger Marius was fatal. When the army of Sulla captured it, the whole of its citizens were executed, and the settlers who succeeded them never breathed into the place the vivid life which it once possessed. And punishment though not so drastic, was meted out to many another ancient Italian town.

Then began the huge confiscations of municipal territory by which Italy was tormented until Augustus established himself firmly on the throne. The victors in civil wars punished the towns which had opposed them, by stripping them of great part of their estates and by planting beside the inhabitants military colonies on the land of which they had

been robbed. At the end of every war the soldiers clamoured for immediate release and settlement on land in Italy. Sulla began the fashion and created a dozen or so of these military civic bodies. In some cases, like that of Praeneste, the new settlers took the place of the old community, and probably any remnant of the old citizens would be incorporated. But in other places the extraordinary step was taken of establishing the new community side by side with the old. How in detail this was effected we are not told. So far as we know, the veterans, while they were quartered inside the original town, yet formed a separate corporation within it, and of course the 'territoria' of the two corporations were distinct. Cicero has preserved a glimpse of this extraordinary arrangement, as it was at Pompeii, in one of his speeches. The old Greek town, semi-Oscanised in course of time, had made common cause with the insurgent allies, and had caused much trouble to Sulla. There is no record of the town having taken part in the civil wars afterwards. Probably it was a mere act of robbery when Sulla deprived it of part of its estate and sent some of his veterans there. Life must have been miserable in the city for some time afterwards, and we know that in the early days dissensions were rife. But long before the great catastrophe took place in 79 A.D. the two bodies of citizens must have coalesced into one. So with the neighbouring city of Nola, which Sulla had to wrest from the Samnites after he returned from the East. An inscription there mentions the "old Nolans" as opposed to the new, and another speaks of the "Sullan boundary lines" which divided the 'territorium' of the new settlers from that which remained to the old inhabitants. To Nola was attached the landed estate of Pompeii when the volcanic ashes submerged that city. Two famous Etruscan commonwealths, Arretium and Volaterrae, defied Sulla for a long time after he became dictator. Arretium was in all periods of Roman history one of the great towns of northern Italy; it flourished both by manufacture and by agriculture. It received a colony of Sulla's veterans, and another group of military settlers was sent there by Octavian.

For a time Arretium actually comprised, as inscriptions show, three civic bodies within it, each with its own magistrates and municipal organisation. Such a state of things cannot have lasted long; but the miseries of it while it lasted must have been acute. The existence of dual and triune communities was not confined to the towns of Italy where veterans were settled, as in the places mentioned above, and others, such as Puteoli and Nuceria. Rare examples are to be found in the provinces; some of them will come before us at a later stage. Certain instances belong to pre-Roman times. Double municipalities existed, for instance, at Agrigentum and Heraclea in Sicily.

It does not appear that the older citizens in these strangely organised towns were placed under legal disabilities. Sulla, by an act of the 'comitia centuriata,' professed to deprive Arretium and Volaterrae of the rights which the 'lex Iulia' had conferred upon them. The enactment placed them on a level with Ariminum and the younger Latin colonies as they were before the Julian law was passed. But Roman constitutional lawyers averred that the Roman citizenship, once given, could not be taken away, even by the comitia, and so before Sulla died the courts treated the enactment as null and void. Sulla's action with regard to Etruria left behind it a great legacy of disaffection. The military settlers failed as farmers and joined the ranks of the discontented, so that in Etruria Catiline afterwards found his chief support. The ineffectiveness of the veterans as colonists is illustrated by the history of Praeneste. Cicero tells us that by 63 B.C. its territory had passed into the hands of a few owners; although Sulla had legislated for the express purpose of making such a concentration impossible.

Julius Caesar did not tread in the footsteps of Sulla. He did not inflict the miseries of the Sullan military colony on any of the Italian towns. As regards the Romanisation of the provinces, we shall find him securing victory for the policy of Gaius Gracchus. The influence which he exerted on municipalism in Italy was confined to Campania and the

country to the north of the Po. The democrats had in 83 B.C. established a colony at Capua, and bestowed on it once more a regular civic constitution, a century and a quarter after its communal liberties had been taken away. But Sulla undid the work. When Caesar was consul in 59 B.C. he reinstated Capua as a municipality, making it a Roman colony. Its territory had been a part of the national estate, and the rents derived from it had been one of the richest resources of the public treasury. Caesar divided it among twenty thousand settlers, most of whom had served under Pompey in Asia Minor. At the same time colonists were sent to Calatia and Casilinum, dependencies in the old time of Capua. The prosperity of Capua had been great, even in the days of its eclipse, and it flourished under the empire. But the new settlers brought no good fortune to Casilinum, for the elder Pliny speaks of its "dying relics." Caesar, it is said, had early made himself the champion of the Transpadane peoples in their aspiration for the Roman citizenship. On his return journey in 67 B.C. from Spain, where he had been quaestor, he had created such a commotion among the Transpadanes that some legions destined for foreign service were retained for a time in Italy, through fear of an insurrection. The tale does not accord well with the fact that eight years later, when Caesar was all-powerful, he took no step to turn his northern friends into Roman burgesses. All he did for their country was to procure authority for establishing a new Latin colony on the lake of Como. A curious feature of this settlement was that five hundred Greeks of good rank were attached to it as nominal burgesses of the new community, but they actually received the complete Roman citizenship. There was already a town of some sort at Comum. Its inhabitants were probably incorporated with the new colonists and the place was called Novum Comum. Its connexion with the poet Catullus and the two Plinys makes it famous in literary history. It is certain that Caesar was popular in the Cisalpine province. He was able to recruit his legions from the population there. On the other hand the inhabitants hated the

Senate, because, as Cicero says, they had suffered wrongs during many years. This statement is illustrated by an incident which occurred just before the Civil War broke out. A rumour came to Rome that Caesar had directed the unenfranchised towns beyond the Po to arrange their magistracies after the fashion of the Roman municipalities. This implied that he had urged them to assume the Roman status without legal warrant. The rumour turned out to be false, but Caesar's enemy Marcellus, consul in the year 51, seized a man of Novum Comum, and had him flogged, to demonstrate that he was nothing but a Latin and not, like a Roman, protected by law against such treatment. It appears to have been alleged that Caesar, when he founded Novum Comum, had in some way exceeded the powers conferred upon him. However that may be, the folly of the petty outrage was conspicuous. The action of Marcellus was the last manifestation of the narrow spirit which had led up to the Social War. One of Caesar's first acts, when he came south to drive Pompey over the sea, was to secure full Roman privileges for the Transpadanes. It is significant that the enfranchising law was passed about twenty days before Caesar himself reached the capital.

Several important inscriptions, bearing on Caesar's municipal policy, have come down to us. Though difficult of interpretation, they throw some light on the relations which subsisted between the municipalities and the central government. A fragment of a statute has been preserved which regulates the jurisdiction in civil cases of the local magistrates in the towns of the Cisalpine province. The reason for this apparently was that the governor of the province had hitherto appointed deputies (*praefecti*) who administered the higher departments of the law in the Roman towns. The fragment mentions a 'praefectus' who exercised authority in the Roman colony of Mutina. It seems that these 'praefecti' were now removed. Two formulae in the fragment make mention of 'lex Rubria,' which is supposed to be the name of the statute of which the fragment formed part.

But the conclusion is far from assured. The inscription in question was found at Veleia, to the south of Placentia. In it a limit is set to the competence of local magistrates. They may dispose of certain cases arising within their respective communities if the sum involved is not greater than 15,000 sesterces. In a few exceptional cases the jurisdiction is without limit. Other suits must be decided at Rome. Another fragment whose subject matter is similar was discovered at Ateste (Este), north of the Po, and a dispute has arisen whether this and the Veleia fragment belong to the same statute. The better opinion is that the two are parts of the same enactment. The Ateste inscription refers chiefly to that peculiar class of suits, which, though technically civil, brought personal disgrace (*infamia*), involving serious disabilities, to the losing party. If the defendant agreed, the local magistrate might give a decision, provided that the money at stake did not exceed 10,000 sesterces. The Ateste fragment calls the original enfranchising law 'lex Roscia.' The statute to which the two inscriptions belong affected the whole of Cisalpine Gaul, not the Transpadane region alone. It is probable that the 'lex Roscia' also was not restricted in its operation to the Transpadane country, but dealt with the municipal organisation of all Cisalpine Gaul. The towns in that part of it which lay to the south of the river were fully enfranchised already; but probably some places which had only the rural constitution were now promoted to full municipal honours. Yet the condition of this whole region continued to be for a short time anomalous. It was now as thoroughly Romanised in its local institutions as the remainder of the peninsula, yet it remained technically provincial, that is foreign soil, with a provincial governor over it, and an army of occupation. This irregularity was removed in 42 B.C. when Italy was formally extended to the base of the Alps. Decimus Brutus, one of Caesar's murderers, was the last governor of Cisalpine Gaul, and with him passed away this old designation. Many of the tribes in the mountain valleys were still unorganised and undisciplined. It was the task of Augustus to

subdue them and to pave the way for bringing them within the scope of the municipal system.

The statute to which the fragments found at Veleia and Ateste belong may have been what the Romans called 'lex data' as opposed to 'lex rogata.' This latter was a statute, properly so called; an enactment sanctioned in every detail by a vote of the burgesses in comitia assembled. The former was a regulation by which some person was authorised by the comitia to lay down a law for some particular place or district. Every charter created for a colony on its foundation, and every code given for the government of a town when it passed from the peregrin to the Roman or Latin status, was a 'lex data.' The comitia left the details of these codes or charters to be settled by the founders or authorised re-organisers of towns, who could take account of local circumstances. The law of Tarentum, of which mention has been made above, and the statutes of the Latin cities of Malaca and Salapensa in Spain, of which we must speak hereafter, are examples of the 'lex data' which are known to us by extant fragments. And there are many references to other such enactments, both in literature and in inscriptions. The passage of the 'lex Rubria' is of itself a proof that no general law existed which defined the powers that the magistrates of the Italian municipalities might exercise in the legal sphere. Otherwise nothing more than a resolution of the comitia extending the law to Cisalpine Gaul would have been necessary. Evidence concerning the matter is very defective; but a number of indications show that neither in the substance of the law administered in the towns, nor in its administration, was there entire uniformity. Thus it is known that one legal rule affecting property which was observed at Rome did not hold good at Arpinum, which received the full franchise in 188 B.C. On the other hand, it cannot be doubted that the fundamental principles were the same everywhere. Whether the prevalent similarity was secured by legislation at Rome, is most dubious. A better opinion seems to be that it was brought about gradually, by

the tendency of the towns, on which stress has been previously laid, to copy the institutions of Rome.

The 'lex Rubria' was in one respect unlike those specimens of the 'lex data' to which reference has just been made. It was enacted for a whole district containing many urban bodies. The nearest parallel, so far as there can be a parallel between a region which was almost immediately incorporated with Italy, and a region which still remained peregrin, is afforded by a great statute laid down by Pompey for Bithynia just after it was annexed. This remained for many generations a sort of charter for the province. Somewhat similar was the 'lex Rupilia,' by which the privileges of towns in Sicily were defined in 133 B.C. It figures largely in the speeches of Cicero against Verres.

Each city in Italy, then, possessed a constitutional code. Were the towns free to enact for themselves changes in it? In the case of those which were early Romanised there must have been complete nominal freedom; but in practice all important changes would be in one direction, that of assimilation with the Roman system. It is not likely that the Roman government felt the need during the Republican period of restraining the municipalities. After the age of Augustus the emperor became the ultimate supreme lawmaker for all countries and towns within his dominions. More and more, as time went on, rules were laid down which were valid everywhere. We shall later consider some particular instances of the manner in which the municipalities were affected by the imperial authority. The position of cities in Italy was of course for a long time different from that of cities in the provinces. All alike, however, were ultimately subjected to a levelling process. But complete uniformity was never attained, even in the latest age of the empire. The closest approach to a universal code was made in the department of criminal law. Yet even here the evolution was gradual. The regular procedure of the Roman criminal courts (*quaestiones*) was not imposed on the Romanised towns of Italy, though all possessed some

court resembling the 'iudicium publicum' of Rome. It is surprising to find that Sulla, when he enacted a law to regulate the procedure of the court which tried cases of murder in the capital, restricted its authority to Rome itself and the narrow sphere of a thousand yards round about. It is possible that he infringed the freedom of the municipalities in the management of such cases, or of criminal cases generally; but no information on the subject has come down to us.

It is necessary now to say something of a famous inscription which *prima facie* belongs to the period intermediate between the Republic and the Empire. One of the most important and at the same time most mysterious of the ancient documents connected with Roman municipal history is the inscription commonly known as the 'lex Iulia municipalis,' contained in bronze tablets discovered (partly in a river bed) near where the old Greek town of Heraclea in southern Italy was placed. That there was a law properly called by this title is proved by an inscription found at Patavium (Padua), in which a magistrate calls himself "quattuorvir with the powers of an aedile, in accordance with the Julian municipal statute." In January of the year 45 B.C. Cicero wrote to a correspondent about a law pending but not passed, which certainly had a bearing on membership of local municipal senates. Balbus, Caesar's agent, had informed Cicero that a 'praeco,' or public auctioneer, was not disqualified by this act from sitting, provided that he had retired from business. As this provision coincides with one which is found in the Heraclean tablets, it is supposed that the law was passed in the year 45, when Caesar returned from Spain. Some of the Roman lawyers of the later time refer here and there to a 'municipal law' which has been identified with this 'lex Iulia.' But Mommsen and others have shown that the supposition is untenable. When we look to the contents of the tablets themselves, we find them to be most varied in their nature. Two sections out of the three into which the subject-matter falls refer solely and purely to Rome and can have had

no bearing on the municipalities elsewhere. One part consists of regulations for the distribution of corn to citizens in the capital; the second of rules to be enforced by the Roman aediles for the maintenance of roads and paths, and for the protection of public property in Rome, and for the control of traffic in its streets. The third section comprises in the first place statements as to the qualifications for local magistracies and local senates. These extend to "municipia, coloniae, praefecturae, fora, conciliabula." The first three of these designations are easy to understand. The 'praefecturae' are those communities in Italy which once received from Rome, some of them through the nomination of the 'praetor urbanus,' others through election by the comitia, officers who exercised in them the higher legal jurisdiction. These were Roman burgess colonies, and cities which had received the 'passive franchise.' Some of these communities bore the name of 'praefecturae,' even for some time after the great enfranchisement which was brought about by the Social War, and it seems not improbable that they continued to receive 'praefecti' from Rome. Often in literature the three names 'municipia, coloniae, praefecturae' stand together as though they embraced the whole of the places in Italy which possessed municipal autonomy. The mention of the 'fora' and the 'conciliabula' raises a difficulty. Originally the 'forum' was a settlement without the complete civic constitution, although it was established by authority much in the same manner as a colony. The 'fora' were usually planted at important points on newly constructed main roads, and bore the name of the magistrates who laid these out; thus there was 'forum Appi' on the Appian way; 'forum Flamini' on the Flaminian. Few towns thus designated lay outside Italy, and such names were commonest in the northern part of the peninsula. Most of the places passed into fully developed municipalities. But in this age and in Italy a 'forum' can have had no proper magistrates and no senate. This holds equally in the case of the 'conciliabula,' little village communities of natural growth, not, like the

'fora,' deliberately created. Only a few places originally 'conciliabula' acquired full municipal honours. How then are we to explain the reference to senators and magistrates? We are left to conjecture for an answer. A fragment of the agrarian law passed by Caesar in 59 B.C., or it may be of a law closely connected with it and consequent upon it (commonly called 'lex Mamilia'), mentions first any colony which may be founded in pursuance of its provisions, and then any 'municipium, forum, conciliabulum' which may be reorganised (*constitutum*) under the law; that is to say any 'municipium' whose fundamental law may be revised, and any 'forum' or 'conciliabulum' which may be advanced to the rank of a municipality. The word 'constitutum' is the very word which Caesar used when he described the re-foundation of Cingulum by Labienus, to which reference has already been made. The passage in the 'lex Iulia municipalis' (so called) may have been intended to refer only to such market towns (*fora*) and villages (*conciliabula*) as might be developed into 'municipia.' To suppose that 'constitutum' in the fragment of the 'lex Mamilia' refers to original foundation, not to reconstitution, is unsuitable to all we know of the 'conciliabula.'

We next have in the Heraclean tablets some provisions connected with the census. These are to apply to 'municipia, coloniae, praefecturae' *in Italy*. The clauses immediately preceding, which relate to local magistracies and senates, are not accompanied by the limiting words. But the mention of 'praefecturae' is most unsuitable to any communities outside Italy. In any case these inscriptions belong not to authentic original documents but to copies, and it seems most likely that the copier neglected to insert the phrase 'in Italia.' With regard to the census, it is ordered that whenever a census takes place at Rome, the authorities of the Italian towns of regular constitution are to register their burgesses, and to transmit the records to the magistrate at Rome who is concerned. It is certain that this arrangement was not first made by Caesar. It must have been adopted

when the great enfranchisement was brought about on the close of the Social War, or rather as soon as the new citizens were regularly enrolled in the local tribes. The last clause in the tablets of Heraclea has a particular interest. Any person who has been authorised by any statute to lay down laws in a 'municipium fundanum,' that is to say, any one who has drafted the basal charter for a newly enfranchised city, may, within a year after the passing of "this law," add to or correct the charter.

It is obvious that this inscription raises questions of serious interest and importance. If all the provisions which it contains are parts of one great municipal law, it is strange that regulations special to Rome should be included in it. Mommsen sees in this fact evidence of deep design on Caesar's part; a desire to show that henceforth Rome was to be in reality what it always had been in theory, merely one of the municipalities of the empire. But it is to be feared that few men in the world would be able to catch an idea so profound, intimated in a manner so trivial. Other scholars have thought that the law is what was called a 'lex satura,' a medley of incongruous enactments huddled together in one measure to save trouble. A statute passed in 98 B.C., the 'lex Caecilia Didia,' had forbidden legislators to adopt 'tacking,' to use our parliamentary expression. And there is no reason why Caesar should have spared himself or those who acted for him the insignificant inconvenience of having to get separate acts through the comitia.

The reference in the last section of the inscription to the commissioners who drew up the municipal codes seems to throw some light on these problems. They had mostly acted soon after 90 B.C. and in 45 few of them would be alive. This section at least must belong to a statute of not much later date than that of the Social War. And the regulations about the census may belong to the same enactment. The contemplated changes in the charters of the cities may be supposed to have related to the registration of the citizens. In order to secure uniformity, it would be necessary that

ordinances, in some detail, should be inserted in all the Italian municipal codes. The natural date for such an enactment would be near 84 B.C., when the principle of enrolling the new citizens in the thirty-five tribes was accepted by all parties in the state.

As has been intimated above, I believe that the rest of the Heraclean inscription refers entirely to Rome and Italy, and to fully developed municipalities in Italy, and has no bearing whatever on the civic commonwealths of the provinces. One portion, that which deals with the qualifications of the municipal magistrate and the municipal senator, is portion of the 'lex Iulia municipalis' mentioned in the inscription of Pàdua. The law no doubt contained much else. The provisions which relate solely to Rome probably belong again to another statute. Why some time after 45 B.C. the citizens of Heraclea found it convenient to inscribe on bronze together three portions of three different laws, is hard to guess, but the difficulty chiefly lies in the copying of the rules which affect the Roman aedile. It may be that these were to be imitated in the domestic code of Heraclea.

Caesar left his mark on the empire as a coloniser, from the extreme East to the extreme West, from the Black Sea to the borders of modern Portugal, in Greece, in Gaul, in Spain, in Africa. But the particulars of his colonial foundations, military and other, will come before us when we survey the provinces of the empire. Caesar's death opened an era of plunder in Italy, and military settlers were foisted on the harassed municipalities of the peninsula, after the fashion of Sulla. About thirty Italian colonies were set on foot, but, so far as can be seen, the cities were mostly reconstituted to include the colonists, who did not receive new separate organisations side by side with the old. In few cases can it be supposed that entirely new civic organisations were created for these veterans. Such new foundations were mainly in the Transpadane country. Soldiers were again sent across the seas by Augustus to found new communities, as by Caesar. One curious measure taken by Augustus was to root up a number

of veterans who had been returned to the land in Italy after the battle of Philippi. When the quarrel with Antony broke out, they sympathised with him, as their old commander, and were afterwards removed to Asia Minor by Augustus, to make room for legionaries who were loyal to him. In his own record of his history, the 'monumentum Ancyranum,' Augustus boasts that he alone of all those who had founded military colonies in Italy had purchased the lands required for them. This he did only after Sextus Pompeius was crushed; he conveniently puts out of sight the extensive confiscations of land which were carried out after the defeat of the Republicans at Philippi. Virgil sang of the woe which befel Mantua from its near neighbourhood to Cremona; the Mantuans had to yield much of their land to the veterans who had Cremona for their centre, and a number of exiles had to seek a new home among the "thirsting Africans," as Virgil has it, or in the East. And Horace's loss of "the home and farm of his fathers" was connected with the establishment of one of the new settlements at Venusia, after the poet's defeat at Philippi, whence he came "humbled by the clipping of his wings." Many of these towns which were reinforced by new colonists had been 'coloniae' in early days. The general enfranchisement after the Social War had led to the title being abandoned in favour of 'municipium,' which was now applicable to every township in Italy, whatever its origin. But the military foundations of Sulla and his successors brought the name 'colonia' once more into use in Italy. These later colonies seem only to have prized and maintained the colonial title when it connected them with Augustus; those which owed it to Sulla did not care to boast of it. Many of the towns had of course suffered terribly during the long civil conflicts, and had room for new citizens. Among the military settlements made by Augustus, the case of Capua is interesting. He took over from the existing community lands which seem to have remained unallotted to particular owners. In compensation, he bestowed upon Capua a rich estate at Cnossus in Crete which produced a large

revenue, and he also built a new aqueduct, which was one of the glories of the place. The Cretan estate is shown by an inscription to have been still in possession of the town in 383 A.D.

We shall encounter the colony, properly so called, in some parts of the empire, but it had no great history, either inside or outside of Italy, after the age of Caesar and Augustus. A new departure was made by these two rulers when they allowed towns which were not colonies in the old sense, to use the title 'colonia.' The emperor who granted the privilege was commemorated in the new municipal title, and many cities, out of vanity, were glad to incorporate an imperial name in their official designations. A jest of Commodus is well known; he conferred on Rome the right to describe herself as "the colony of Commodus" (*colonia Commodiana*). No doubt in many cases a substantial mark of imperial favour accompanied or flowed from the grant. Even thoroughly Eastern places like Palmyra, Hemesa, Bostra and Nisibis vaunted the proud title of colony in the third century. I only mention these titular colonies here because they are connected with a question which affects Italy as well as the other parts of the empire, the question whether, in constitutional law, there was any distinction of status between the colony and the township of Roman right (*municipium civium Romanorum*). Special privileges, such as freedom from taxation (*immunitas*) and the 'right of Italian soil,' were sometimes granted by the emperor to Roman provincial communities, but without any distinction between the two classes. There is indeed no clear evidence of any differences in privilege. But the antiquarian writer of the second century, Aulus Gellius, quotes a speech of the emperor Hadrian, which raises a difficulty. This ruler, not unlearned in ancient lore, expressed his surprise when his native 'municipium' of Italica in Spain, and some others, among them Utica in Africa, asked to have the "rights of colonies" (*ius coloniarum*), when they might continue to enjoy "their own customs and their own laws" (*suis moribus legibusque*). He goes on to

speak of Praeneste, which was a colony, but petitioned Tiberius to be allowed to return to the status of a 'municipium.' This request was granted by Tiberius out of gratitude, because a sojourn near the ancient town had brought him relief from illness. If the words of Hadrian were taken literally, we should have to deduce from them the conclusion that a marked contrast, in constitutional law, existed between the two categories of municipalities with Roman rights. But the fact that there is no trace of such divergence elsewhere than in this speech of the emperor makes the inference impossible. With regard to Praeneste, we may suppose that on sentimental grounds the inhabitants wished to rid themselves of a badge which was first imposed by Sulla, after his savage punishment of their city. As to the provincial towns mentioned by Hadrian, there cannot have been any general statute which would require them to change their local institutions on acquiring the colonial title. The emperor must be referring to a change which was likely to take place *de facto*, rather than to one which was certain to occur *de iure*. The custom of titular Roman colonies in the West may have been to bring their institutions into closer similarity than heretofore with the Italian pattern; to remove some of the traces of their ante-Roman condition. In the East, in towns like Palmyra, in the third century, the new designation 'colony' can have had not even this limited influence. We have only one definite record of any differentiating privilege which was ever conferred on colonies as such. Augustus arranged that in the twenty-eight military foundations established by him in Italy the inhabitants should be allowed to give their votes on proposals brought before the Roman comitia, without being required to travel to Rome for the purpose. Thus was made a great and striking breach in old Roman constitutional practice. If the new practice had been established some centuries earlier the disadvantage of a domicile which was distant from Rome would have ceased, and the course of Roman constitutional history might have been considerably changed. One great

difficulty of reforming statesmen, that of keeping a steady majority in the comitia, owing to the fluctuating numbers of those able to attend and vote in Rome, would have been removed. But the change lost its significance with the demise of the Roman comitia, which was impending at the time when it was introduced.

We have traced the history of the colony in Italy and have seen that it was originally an outpost, thinly inhabited, assigned to keep in subjection a conquered enemy. Then it was used in Italy mainly as an economic instrument, to make provision for old soldiers, and for poor citizens alike. Also, for both civilians and veterans, the other method was followed, of allotting lands to separate settlers, not formed into regular civic communities. We shall have no better opportunity than the present of surveying the later relations between colonisation and the army outside Italy. The 'colonia' ended much as it had begun. The last 'coloniae' which were real and not titular were composed of soldiers settled on the dangerous frontiers of the empire. In the formalities of colonisation, reminiscences of the army were present, even when the colonists were men who had either never passed through the service or had been long released from it. The carrying of the military banner is often mentioned. Cicero speaks of Antony as having unfurled the standard when the new colony was settled at Casilinum, and as having driven the plough round the supposed line of its walls. It sometimes happened that no new walls were built, and the ceremony had then only a ritual significance. When the soldier settlers were drawn from one legion, the legion's name figured in the title given to the colony. Thus Narbo, the oldest Roman city outside Italy, was strengthened by Caesar, who sent there men of the famous Tenth Legion, and in the after time the townsmen called themselves 'Narbonenses Decumani.' So Arles (Arelate) commemorated the Sixth Legion when Caesar gave it Roman status, and Orange (Arausio) the Second, about the same time. One town in Spain bore the name 'Iulia Gemella,' 'the twin town,' because soldiers of two

legions had taken part in its foundation. But the places with such names were all colonised in Caesar's dictatorship and in the earlier years of the reign of Augustus. After about 13 B.C. this emperor substituted sums of money for land, as the reward for those who had fulfilled the conditions of service. They were returned, money in hand, each to the township in which he was born. But even in the beginning of the reign of Tiberius we find the mutinous soldiers in Pannonia complaining that after all their hardships they were dragged off to lands wide apart, to receive farms, as they were called, but really bits of marsh, or of a bare mountain side. Here the scattering of the men who had served together is part of the grievance. The assignment of land to the veterans as individuals without municipal settlement continued after this to be the most ordinary mode of making provision for them. Trajan, for example, settled large numbers of them in Dacia, which had been depopulated by his wars; but he only founded there two regular colonies. In many instances the old soldiers left their farms, even when they were in Italy, and slipped back into the provinces where their service had been performed. It was the first step towards the later military system which made service more or less hereditary, and stationed the legions on the frontiers, with permanent camps. Lands allotted to soldiers individually would, as a rule, be within the bounds of municipal 'territoria' and would afford them the advantages of municipal life. As regards the military colony, properly so called, Tacitus contrasts the practice of his time, that of Trajan and Hadrian, with the custom of earlier days, when "whole legions were led out with tribunes and centurions and soldiers of every rank, so that by common feeling and common affection they might form a commonwealth." At the later date, "men who knew nothing of one another, who came from different detachments, who had no leader and no sentiments in common, suddenly brought together as though from distinct races of mankind, constituted a mere collection of units, not a body of colonists." Tacitus, however, drew a little on his

imagination. When, after the battle of Actium, Octavian (Augustus) settled veterans at Ateste (Este), they were taken from at least nine different legions.

When colonists were set down in an alien land, they must at first have held themselves aloof from the native peoples. The old soldiers sometimes carried matters with a high hand. For example the veterans settled by Claudius in Camulodunum (Colchester) brought on by outrage the rebellion headed by Boudicca. But, as we have seen in the case of Italy, political and social barriers would everywhere give way in course of time, and the separation between the colonists and the older inhabitants would cease. Privilege tended to die a natural death, and we shall find examples presently of the way in which provincials imperceptibly acquired the Roman or the Latin status even without the operation of law. In the West the infusion of Latin-speaking settlers, military and other, was sufficient to colour in time all the provinces on that side of the empire. In the other direction the widely scattered settlers from Italy could not withstand the influence of their surroundings, and cities which were started as Roman or Latin colonies became Graeco-Oriental in their character. The wider the differences between the civilisation which the colonists brought with them and that of the land of their adoption, if civilisation existed in it, the more difficult would be the process of pacific assimilation.

Before we proceed to consider the greatest achievement of imperial Rome, the municipalisation of the provinces of the West, we will survey the condition of Italy at the time when she reached her full municipal development, in the age of Augustus. In Pliny's account of Italy, based on the survey which that emperor carried out, we find a list of about 440 or 450 municipalities. The number is not far from three times as great as that of the members of the Romano-Italic confederacy which confronted Hannibal. The process of splitting up Italian soil into civic 'territoria' had gone on apace during the two centuries that had intervened. The twenty-three town commonwealths allotted by Pliny to

the region of Picenum must nearly all have been constituted after the Romans entered the land. Aelian, the sophist, a native of Praeneste, writing near the end of the second century, asserted that the number of "towns" in Italy was 1167. But, like many other writers, he included under the heading of towns many places which were not municipally organised. Italy, however, was in the ancient world the land of cities *par excellence*. The municipal system never covered any other part of the Roman empire so completely. The relative superiority of Italy in this respect continued into succeeding ages, and in part accounts for the glory of Italian civilisation in the centuries from the twelfth to the sixteenth. Of the towns as they existed in the Augustan period about two-thirds are revealed to us by ancient inscriptions and other relics which have been unearthed on their sites, or have remained visible above ground to our day. A great number of cities are known to have risen in Italy, flourished and passed away before the Republic ended. Cato the Censor told of many vanished towns. Pliny knew of fifty-three which had disappeared from the older Latium without leaving a trace. Places which must have been important before the Roman time have often left behind them few or no indications of their existence excepting in the coins which they issued. Well known examples are Velecha in the Falernian region, which employed a Greek alphabet; Alliba, Hyria, Phistelia in Campania; and a number of towns in the south, as Neapolis in Apulia, and Uxentum in Calabria. The names of towns on Etruscan mintages are notoriously difficult to identify and even to read. Often the full name of an ancient Italian town cannot be recovered from its coins, because it was indicated only by two or three of its letters at the beginning. On not a few ancient Italian sites burial grounds have been discovered of such extent as to prove that important cities were situated near at hand; yet no traces or only the faintest traces of these appear either on the soil or in literature. A striking example of the miserable state of our information concerning the municipal history of Italy is afforded by the

remains of Volci in Etruria. They show that it must once have been opulent and powerful, commanding a wide territory. A Latin inscription informs us that it was one of the twelve great cities of the Etruscan confederation. More than twenty thousand graves have here been opened, and the spoil of them has given some idea of the wealth of the inhabitants, and their passion for the productions of the Greek artist. Yet the city is mentioned only two or three times in the literary records which we possess.

The writers of the early Empire lament greatly over the decay alike of the cities and of the rural population in Italy. Livy was at a loss to understand how the old Volscian and Aequian towns could have supplied the forces which they sent out in early days against Rome. Many of them, he says, would be entirely desolate, were it not for the slaves who have taken the place of the ancient free warriors. According to Strabo, the old towns of the Samnites had for the most part sunk to mere villages, and some had disappeared. But, at the time, the dwindling or effacement of once flourishing communities was a matter of complaint all over the civilised world. The tone of society was prevalently pessimistic, and little account was taken of the compensating rise of great new cities or of the increase in the rural inhabitants in many regions. Not a few modern scholars have addressed themselves to the intensely difficult problems involved in estimates of ancient populations. The subject is closely connected with the municipal history of the Roman empire, but too intricate for treatment here. I will only note that some of the investigators who have been among the ablest and the best equipped for the inquiry, have held that the Italy of the first Christian century or two was as well peopled as the Italy of to-day.

The prosperity and importance in history of the Italian towns, when once founded, depended on many circumstances combined. One element of considerable consequence was the size of the 'territorium' with which the city was endowed, and by which it was nurtured, even as the central city,

Rome, was sustained by its provinces. Generally speaking, the later the date at which an Italian city came into existence, the larger the district which it commanded. The older communities which once possessed wide estates had been compelled in many instances to cede large portions of them to the Romans, and to permit the creation within them of new municipalities. The great domains of most Etruscan cities were broken up in this manner; some of them, that of Veii, for instance, were early absorbed into the 'Romanus ager,' and used for the creation of local tribes. If we look to the Roman history of the two groups of towns which belong roughly to the northern and southern portions of the peninsula, we find that the later historical record of the northern section far eclipses that of the southern. The early glory of the south, due in the main to Greek colonisation, paled through external attack and internal dissension, never to revive. In the north the great flourishing towns were nearly all of late and indeed of Roman foundation, and it is noteworthy that they were endowed at the outset with especially large territories, out of lands won from the Celtic and other barbarian enemies. In Umbria the municipal bodies were numerous in proportion to the surface of the land, and not many places rose in importance above the general level. In the region of the Po, towns were relatively few, and the possessions of each were relatively large. The rise to eminence of places in this part of Italy may in some degree be attributed to this circumstance. Milan (Mediolanum) was of consequence before the Roman age as the capital of the Insubres, but its history would almost certainly have been different if the Romans had planted a number of small settlements on its extensive estates. It can hardly be accidental that the Etruscan cities which chiefly flourished in the Roman period were those whose possessions had not been very seriously curtailed, Arretium (Arezzo) for example. So Perusia, down to the time of the Triumvirate, prospered extremely. Then came the 'Perusine' war, when Lucius Antonius, the brother of Mark Antony, and Fulvia, the Triumvir's wonderful wife, who had been earlier

wedded to the notorious Clodius and the brilliant young Curio, held the city against Octavian, and a fearful vengeance was wreaked upon it. But he repented, and so reconstituted it as to permit it once more to rise to greatness. In determining the limits of municipal 'territoria' in ancient Italy, as in other parts of the Roman empire, scholars have been aided considerably by the early history of the Christian Church. In the latest imperial age, the bishops acquired supremacy in most of the municipalities, and the limits of their dioceses corresponded very generally with those of the old civic 'territoria.' On some very ancient Italian sites, the only visible mark of former days is a solitary church standing remote from habitations.

It is interesting to inquire how far by the time of Augustus the municipal unification of Italy had led to the victory of Latin over the numerous other languages and dialects of the peninsula. The sources of information are scanty. It is certain that the government took no steps to suppress any modes of speech. Even in the 'municipium' or 'colonia,' the necessary use of Latin would be confined to official and formal pronouncements; the inhabitants in general would lie under no compulsion. In the south, before the Romans came, Greek had made great way among the native peoples, and its hold over them was but slowly relaxed. In the age of Ennius and much later the Bruttians spoke Greek as well as their own variety of Oscan. Near the end of the second century B.C. Lucilius classed the inhabitants of Consentia, the chief Bruttian town, with the Tarentines and Sicilians, in respect of their imperfect knowledge of Latin. Be it here remembered that Tarentum received a colony of Roman burgesses in 122 B.C. In the reign of Augustus Strabo wrote of Tarentum, Heraclea, and Naples as if they were the only towns in Italy which still clung to the old Greek speech. But Locri and some other places should be added. Under Roman rule, Greek ultimately disappeared from Magna Graecia, though it was re-imported by immigrants at a later time. A number of the Hellenic

settlements, both in the south and in Campania, had been partly barbarised before the advent of the Romans. The Greeks at Posidonia, for example, are known to have admitted into their community many of their Italic neighbours, long before the Latin colony was established there, with the name of Paestum. The Samnites in the fifth century B.C., and later, submerged to a great extent the Greek element in Campania, but they were not always able to efface the Hellenic character of the towns which they seized. Cumae was occupied by them about 420 B.C. and the site has yielded Oscan inscriptions. But in 180 B.C., as we found, Latin was adopted as the official language of the place. Yet Strabo has recorded that in his time many traces of its Hellenic past lingered at Cumae; and inscriptions have confirmed his statement. Naples never submitted to the Samnite invaders of Campania. Everything Greek was cherished there to a late time; language, literature, philosophy, cults and sports. Old Greek names of magistrates, and an old Greek classification of the burgesses, survived down into the fourth century A.D. In the reign of Domitian, the poet Statius wrote as though all the coast of the bay of Naples retained the Hellenic character.

Oscan naturally lasted longest among the mountains, and first succumbed to Latin near the sea. At the date of the Social War, it must still have been vigorous in Samnium proper, and among the offshoots of the Samnite race, the Marrucini, Vestini, and others. It was used in Pompeii (once a Greek city) down to the day of the great final catastrophe. In the south-east of the peninsula, where the Messapian dialect once prevailed, the Greek influence was powerful before the Romans appeared on the scene. But the Latin and Roman colonies founded there from the end of the fourth century B.C. onwards must have Latinised the region by the time of Horace.

Between the borders of Campania and those of the original Latium, the predominance of Latin was easily secured. The principal characteristics of dialects whose

habitat was not far removed from the capital must have died out by the time of the Hannibalic war. Yet even in parts which were early Latinised, many local peculiarities long lingered. We learn from the plays of Plautus that the Latin of Praeneste was a byword in his time. Quotations made by the ancient grammarians show that particular expressions not in use at Rome remained current, especially among the Sabines, far into the period of the empire. Etruria, to the south of the Ciminian forest (*saltus*), was, as we have had occasion to note, Romanised in the fourth century B.C. Here, as everywhere in their dominions, the Etruscans formed a thin stratum of conquerors imposed on an earlier population; in this region the stock was probably Latin in the main. Only two towns in these parts, Caere and Falerii, retained long after the Roman conquest traces of the Etruscan domination. Caere must have been rapidly Latinised when it received the 'civitas sine suffragio.' Its oldest name, Agylla, has been held to indicate a Phoenician origin. Herodotus and other Greek writers speak of a connexion with Greece. The people of the town possessed their own treasure-house at Delphi. In its Etruscan phase it was one of the twelve great cities of Etruria, and possessed a large maritime trade. The magnificent tombs of the Etruscan age which have been discovered in its cemetery are familiar to scholars and travellers. In a passage referring to 310 B.C., Livy speaks of a Roman noble who had been educated at Caere and was therefore acquainted with all Etruscan lore. In the Augustan time the old city was almost dead; but it awaked later to some degree of prosperity. The Faliscans, who spoke a tongue curiously mixed of Latin and Etruscan elements, had often been in conflict with Rome, and Falerii was finally crushed after a revolt, or what the government chose to call a revolt, in 241 B.C. The inhabitants were transplanted to a less defensible site than the old one, which is known by the modern name of 'Civita Castellana,' to the north of Horace's mountain, Soracte, and just where a small tributary meets the Tiber. Important relics of the Etruscan

as well as the Roman period have been discovered there. In the northern part of Etruria, the ruinous conflicts of which the country was the scene in the interval between Sulla's rise to power and the Perusine war of 41 B.C., along with the continual plantation of military colonies, must have rapidly undermined the old civilisation and the Etruscan language. The latest inscriptions found in it appear to be of the age of Augustus. But Etruscan as a dead language was studied at least till the fourth Christian century. On his expedition to the East, the emperor Julian was accompanied by Etruscan soothsayers (*haruspices*) who interpreted portents by the ritual books which they carried with them, and quarrelled with the 'philosophers' over the meaning of signs which both parties believed to be supernatural.

The old strongly marked Umbrian language, known to us chiefly by the famous tablets discovered at Iguvium, seems to have disappeared before the empire was founded; at least Strabo speaks of the Umbrians, along with the Etruscans, as thoroughly Romanised. Some of the inscriptions in the dialect seem to come down to a date at least as late as that of the Social War. Whether Plautus learned Latin as his mother tongue in his native Umbrian city of Sarsina or acquired it when he came to Rome cannot be determined.

The land between the northern boundary of Apulia and the town of Ariminum was filled with Roman settlers before the Hannibalic war. They displaced or Romanised a population that was largely Celtic. There are many indications that in the valley of the Po the Latin tongue and the Roman civilisation had obscured the Celtic character of the region long before Caesar carried his measure of enfranchisement. The currency of the name 'toga-clad Gaul' (*Gallia togata*) as an equivalent for Cisalpine Gaul, at the end of the Republican age, is proof of the change. But we must be careful not to draw a wrong inference from an assertion of Polybius that the Gauls had been "expelled" from the plains round the Po excepting a few parts lying beneath the Alps. His language often lacks precision, and

to judge from other passages, he probably meant no more than that few partly autonomous Gallic communities subsisted in the lands watered by the Po and its tributaries. South of the river the Romans dealt drastically with the conquered tribes from time to time, particularly when the great nation of the Boii was finally subdued in 191 B.C. But even here it is not to be supposed that the Celtic population was exterminated. It is said that to-day traces of Celtic are to be found in the dialect which is spoken in the region. North of the Po many vestiges of the old culture lasted into the times of the empire. The province of 'Gallia Cisalpina' never comprised many of the mountain valleys which we now regard as Italian, and when it was absorbed into Italy, these districts were still left outside. It may be noted that Celtic speech never made any great stand against Latin in any tracts of country which were fairly well municipalised by the Romans. Other native languages, the Punic for instance, showed a much greater power of resistance. Of other peoples in the Po valley beside the Celts, something will be said later.

With regard to civic constitutions we have already found reason to believe that when all Italy became Roman in name, no absolute sameness in municipal administration was imposed. It is certain that neither the 'lex Iulia' of 90 B.C. nor (as some have thought) any legislation of Sulla, nor Caesar's 'lex Iulia municipalis,' nor any other enactment, ever set forth any completely uniform pattern for municipal government in Italy, nor, it may be said, in any other part of the empire. Cicero, in speaking of a short-lived colony established by the party of Marius at Capua, ridiculed its magistrates for bestowing on themselves the title of praetor, but he did not assert that by so doing they broke any law. Long after his time relics of pre-Roman custom survived, especially in the titles borne by the local magistrates. The earliest Republican designation at Rome for the chief magistrate was praetor, and it was commonly used in Latin towns. It occurs in the imperial period, not only in ancient Latin and Hernican cities like Lavinium and Ferentinum, but also in

colonies, both of the Latin and of the Roman type, and in cities which once belonged to the category of 'civitates sine suffragio.' In three or four old Latin places, the name 'dictator' was maintained, as at Lanuvium, where Milo filled the office in 52 B.C., in the ancient Latin colony of Sutrium, and in the late burgess colony settled at Fabrateria in 124 B.C. Hadrian is said to have held office as dictator in 'Latin towns' (*Latina oppida*). Here and there we even find local 'consuls,' as in the great frontier Latin colony of Ariminum. At Naples old Greek official titles persisted, but possibly the offices to which they were attached retained mainly religious duties, the substantial secular functions having passed over to officers with new names. But in this city the division of the burgesses, according to Hellenic fashion, by brotherhoods (*phratriai*) continued long. In the Oscan towns, the characteristic title for the chief magistrate, 'medix touticus,' died out with the Social War. The 'lex Iulia' of 90 B.C. seems to have brought a new fashion forward; at least the first traces of it are to be found in the fundamental statute of Roman Tarentum. The magistrates there are four in number, and all are entitled to call themselves 'quattuorviri.' Two of them are of superior rank, being administrators of law (*iuri dicundo*); the others have only the powers of aediles (*aediliciae potestatis*). These latter are spoken of in one place as 'duoviri.' This arrangement was afterwards widespread in the cities of Roman franchise. Cicero speaks as though all 'coloniae' had 'duoviri' at their head. But there is no absolute uniformity in the nomenclature. The Latin municipalities also sometimes had 'duoviri,' sometimes 'quattuorviri,' as their chief officers. The designation 'duoviri' is found in an inscription of the burgess colony at Puteoli, which can be dated to 109 B.C. In some Sabine municipalities we find a college of eight magistrates called 'octoviri.' An office like that of the Roman aedile existed, not only everywhere in Italy, but all over the West. Mommsen indeed thought that in Italy a general statute required such officers to be appointed long

before the Roman municipal system was extended to the whole peninsula. But the supposition runs counter to the body of evidence which we possess with regard to municipal history. The practical need of an officer to superintend the markets and the public safety accounts for the prevalence of the aedileship. In some places even the distinction between curule and plebeian aedile was adopted, fanciful and meaningless as it had become. Very few cities carried their imitation of Rome so far as to introduce the Tribune of the Commons (*tribunus plebis*). One of these was Ariminum. And the quaestor was something of a rarity. In some Italian towns, and in two colonies in Gaul (Narbo and Nemausus), the old Roman institution of the 'interrex' existed. He was nominated by the Senate to bring about the election of new magistrates, when for any reason the chief office had been accidentally left vacant or had been prematurely vacated. But a 'lex Petronia' of uncertain date, of which mention is made in several inscriptions, seems to have required the local senates, at least in the West, to appoint 'praefecti' to hold office until the regular time came round for a new election by the burgesses. This is almost the only regulative municipal law affecting any area wider than Italy, of which we have definite knowledge in the earlier and better time of local administration.

Probably every Italian city had from an early date a regular registration of citizens and their property, resembling the census at Rome. But, as was the case with Rome in the first stage of Republican history, it was carried out not by special officers, but by the ordinary principal magistrates of the towns. This continued for long to be the common practice, not only in Italy but, as we shall see, all the empire over. But censors once existed in some Italian towns. They are found, along with tribunes, in the famous Oscan and Latin inscriptions of Bantia, whose date is a little later than that of the younger Gracchus. This document is testimony to the strong drift towards assimilation of local municipal institutions with the Roman, which manifested itself at an early date, and continued to operate after the time of the Social War.

Before we speak of the local senates and the local forms of organisation of the burgesses, we may note one conspicuous feature of the municipal evolution in Italy. Although the Roman government did not grasp roughly at control over local affairs, there was one direction in which pressure could be exercised. Whenever a favourable opportunity offered, the influence of Rome was exerted in support of aristocratic forms of local government, as against democratic. Monarchy had disappeared from Italy before Rome advanced her power beyond Latium. It had naturally been succeeded by oligarchy; but in many cities, especially in southern Italy, Rome found democracy established, and her general experience was that it was adverse to her interests. Livy tells that when the Hannibalic war broke out, the local optimates generally favoured the Roman cause, while the common folk were often disloyal. This was illustrated during the war by events at Capua, Nola, and many other places. It was natural therefore that whenever internal disorder afforded a pretext for interference, the central government should help to strengthen the position of the aristocratic parties in the towns. But nevertheless popular assemblies in the Italian cities continued to be active, long after the imperial system had annihilated them at the centre. Political life died out in the municipalities outside Rome far more slowly than at Rome. The street inscriptions at Pompeii proclaim the keen interest which was taken in the local elections down to the hour of the fatal disaster. It is probable that the democratic movement initiated by the Gracchi gave an impulse to local politics in the towns of Italy. With the advent of empire, Roman patriotism finally lost all traces of its municipal origin. But elsewhere the love of the municipal fatherland continued strong. Here and there quite late inscriptions attest the pride which kept alive memory of archaic or mythical elements in a town's story. Thus inscriptions of the imperial time recall the fact that Capena, then an insignificant place, had once been allied with Rome by treaty. It was an Etruscan settlement which made terms with Rome

when Veii fell. Sometimes there was an antiquarian revival of an old glory. Thus we learn that the emperor Septimius Severus in 210 A.D. solemnly renewed the ancient 'aequum foedus' which had five centuries before united the old Umbrian city of Camerinum with Rome in the contest against the common enemies, the Etruscans. The occasion seems to have been regarded as a celebration of the five-hundredth anniversary of the conclusion of the compact. The annual renewal of the treaties with Gabii and Laurentum, already mentioned, appears to have been connected with Roman religious conservatism in some way, rather than with local patriotism. But if our records were fuller we should doubtless find many illustrations of the spirit which the late communities at Capena and Camerinum maintained.

The most interesting feature about the local senates of Italy is that they retained old characteristics which had dropped away from the great Senate at Rome. The conditions of membership were, so far as is known, tolerably uniform. All municipal councils were in the main gatherings of magistrates, past and present. Persistent tradition asserted that the Roman Senate, when created at a stroke by Romulus, comprised only a hundred members. The Latin towns clung to this number, and it became normal in Italy, and also all over the West. The name 'decurio,' which is the ordinary title everywhere in western regions of a local senator, is connected with an old division of the hundred members into ten sections or 'bureaux,' called 'decuriae.' It has been held by Mommsen and others that this designation was fixed by a Roman law, to prevent members of councils outside the capital from using the dignified name 'senator.' But the tablets of Heraclea, containing the 'lex Iulia municipalis,' to use the current title, recognise 'senator' and 'conscriptus' as well as 'decurio' as legitimate titles of a local councillor, and the same recognition occurs in the statutes for the Latin cities of Malaca and Salapensa in Spain, dated about 80 A.D. The word 'senator' was also thus used by the emperor Vespasian in an extant letter. In many local inscriptions

not only 'senator' is found but the collective title 'senatus' also. This occurs even in some inscriptions written in the Oscan dialect. But as a collective label the term 'ordo' is regular, being an abbreviation for 'ordo decurionum,' or 'ordo senatorius.' The word 'conscriptus' is specially interesting in view of the old controversy over the origin of the phrase 'patres conscripti' as applied to the Roman senators. The imagination of the Roman antiquarians, that the term 'conscriptus' came into existence to indicate the plebeian member after he forced his way into the house, has been widely accepted by modern scholars, but it receives no support from the use of the word outside Rome. It seems only to indicate the early existence of a formal senatorial roll, like the peers' roll in England. The word is found in Oscan form on early inscriptions. At Rome the senators were never called 'conscripti' solely, but always 'patres conscripti,' while on the other hand the local councillors are never 'patres.' It is most improbable that these fixed differences were due to legislation, and the course taken by custom is often inexplicable.

A curious survival of primitive usage is found in the practice which continued throughout the period of the Roman Empire, of selecting ten senators to represent the whole senate in dealings with authorities outside. Apparently the ten represented originally the ten 'decuriae' into which the senate was divided, though the mode of selection was early changed. Hence the ten envoys (*decem legati*) who were usually sent out from Rome in Republican times to aid a general in drawing up a treaty of peace on the conclusion of a war. Hence also the ten 'first men' (*decem primi* or *decem principes*) who often represented, in early days, Latin and Italian towns in their dealings with the Roman government. In the general municipal system of the empire we shall find some peculiar developments of this practice, particularly in the East. Before we leave the local Italian senates, we may add to the evidence that no uniformity was ever imposed upon them even in late times. The ancient Sabine town of Cures,

which Strabo calls a little village, rose in importance under the empire as a 'municipium.' It chose to call its senators 'centumviri.' The same name is found in the late township of Veii. The soil on which the venerable Etruscan city had stood was laid under a curse, like the soil of Carthage, Corinth and Fregellae. But Caesar and his successor had the power over ancient curses which Gracchus had lacked, and the 'municipium Augustum Veiens' came into existence. In Canusium the title 'iudices' seems to have been usual.

Little is known of the organisation of the burgesses for political purposes in the ancient cities of Italy. The custom of voting by sections in the public assemblies, as opposed to the Greek habit of voting by persons, is genuinely Italic. In the towns of Latin origin, and in Italian towns generally after the great municipal revolution, the voting unit seems to have been the 'curia,' as it was in early Rome. The tribe division was common enough among the Italian peoples, both native and Greek, but whether it was used for political ends, as in Rome, cannot be determined. The division of the citizens into 'centuriae' remained peculiarly Roman. It was not copied in Italy, nor (with one very doubtful exception) outside Italy. But it is natural to suppose that in the towns of the peninsula, particularly the Greek towns, a number of local diversities survived.

After the passing of the 'lex Iulia' of 90 B.C. every Italian town was regularly called 'municipium.' The earlier history of this famous word was not clear even to the antiquarians of the late Republic and early Empire, and the question is too difficult for exposition here. The term was probably applied by the Romans from a very early time to the Latin cities, and to the cities of the so-called 'passive' franchise. Outside Italy, it was applicable to Roman burgess towns and towns of Latin right alike.

The sketch which surviving records enable us to give of municipal history during the Republican period is of the roughest, but its outlines are at least clear enough to demonstrate that the gathering of all the Italian peoples into a

single all-embracing commonwealth was the work of peace rather than of war, and of liberal dealing more than of the high hand. The notion of the self-governing town community as the basis of their empire was deeply ingrained in the Roman consciousness. The Greeks theorised nobly about the idea of the city-state, but were apt to treat it with violence in their deeds. The Romans made it their great weapon for winning and holding power. The policy of 'laisser faire' was profoundly important in their government. No other could have given them or retained for them their control over the great area of ancient civilisation. We shall see the policy maintained during the earlier and better stage of the imperial system. In the later we shall see it first impaired and then abandoned, under the pressure of what wears the appearance of an almost reasonless destiny. Then came true what Horace said of Rome, but in a sense different from his: "suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit." Rome owed her ruin to her strength. When she exerted her whole force upon her subjects, then she weakened and fell.

# CHAPTER VII

## IMPERIAL POLICY AND ITS APPLICATION TO THE ALPINE TRIBES AND GAUL

CAESAR embraced the principles of Flaminius and the Gracchi. He doubtless contemplated, as an issue of the remote future, the complete Latinisation and Romanisation of the Empire. The municipal evolution which had effaced racial distinctions in Italy was to run its course in the provinces also. Scattered centres of Latin influence were created by him in a number of regions, both eastern and western; but he did not live to frame a definite plan for the ultimate complete extension of the Italian municipal system to any one province. The long life of his successor Augustus was in large part devoted to the problem, and the emperors who followed him trod in his footsteps, though with varying pace. It was soon recognised that the Greek influence on the eastern side of the Roman dominions was too powerful to be undermined, and that the Romanisation of the East could never be much more than formal and nominal. The rulers therefore directed their efforts mainly to the great western provinces in Europe and Africa, and to the lands newly won from the barbarians in Gaul, round the Alps, on the Rhine and in the direction of the Danube. Caesar gave a contemptuous indication of what the imperial policy was to be when he flouted conservative feeling by seating Gauls in the Roman Senate. For this the time was not ripe. Romans in general would sympathise with the wit who posted up in public a verse, drawing attention to the fact that the Gauls had laid aside the breeches, which marked the barbarian from

the far East to the far West, and had donned the toga with the broad purple stripe proper to the Roman senator. Another wag called on the citizens to practise "a good joke" (*bonum factum*); to refuse to show the new senators the way to the senate-house. Augustus saw the need of organising his Senate on old Roman lines; and even Gauls were unable to surmount the barrier till the reign of Claudius. Exclusion from the Senate of course implied exclusion from the offices of state. At first, then, even the possession of the Roman citizenship did not necessarily entitle the enfranchised provincial to take part in the government of the empire, unless he belonged to an enfranchised community or had domiciled himself in Italy.

Caesar, as we have before noticed, rode roughshod over the prejudice which had stopped Gaius Gracchus from refounding Carthage as a municipality, and he distributed colonists in Gaul, Spain, Africa, Greece, and even on the shores of the Black Sea. He also admitted communities of foreign and even barbarian origin, with or without an admixture of Italian settlers, either to the Roman or to the Latin form of civic privilege. His proceedings must have stirred angry feeling in the minds of great masses of Romans, who clung out of time to the old exclusiveness, and considered that it was one thing to Romanise Italy, another to disseminate Roman and Latin rights about the world. How deep the dislike of the new idea may have lain, is attested by a passage of the historian Velleius Paterculus, to which reference has already been made. After severely condemning Gaius Gracchus for proposing to establish Roman colonies beyond the bounds of Italy, he gives expression to the feeling which Cicero, in his speeches on the agrarian law of Rullus, declared to have animated the Romans when they refused to allow Capua, Carthage and Corinth to flourish again. Colonies, Velleius says, have often overtopped in power their mother cities, and he instances, among others, the precedents of Tyre and Carthage, Phocaea and Massilia. Yet Velleius sprang from Oscan-speaking ancestors of the nation of the Hirpini,

and his family had only won the Roman franchise during the Social War. Moreover, he was writing more than seventy years after the death of Caesar. We have here an illustration of a dread which manifested itself early at Rome, and never died, that some other great city might become the seat of the world's government, and hurl down Rome from her pride of place. Augustus skilfully played upon this underlying nervousness in his contest with Antony, who reigned like an oriental monarch in Alexandria, and might be suspected of an intention to humble Rome, should victory incline to his side. In Caesar's day, there had been a floating apprehension that he might transfer the centre of authority to the East. Even in the dim time of the early fourth century, according to Livy, young men had been checked for wishing to make Veii, after it was subdued, the capital in lieu of Rome. One of the many legends which gathered round the elder Scipio told how, as a youth, he crushed a plot made by despairing Romans after the defeat at Cannae, to replace Rome by another capital. The nervous and unreasoning dread to which these tales testify may have prompted the destruction of Carthage and Corinth, as much as the commercial rivalry to which it has been exclusively attributed. In the third Christian century the terrifying vision began to take tangible shape, and in the fourth, when old Byzantium bloomed into new Constantinople, it became real to the full.

Augustus set himself steadily to the task of freeing the empire from turbulence within, and of rendering it safe against assaults from without. Caesar had subjugated once for all the land between the Rhine and the western sea. His successor schemed to remove the frontier from the Rhine to the Elbe, but yielded to Arminius, "beyond doubt the liberator of Germany," as Tacitus says. Vast tracts, however, lying between the Adriatic, the Rhine and the Danube, were brought under Roman sway, and nations dwelling in and around the Alps and the northern Apennines, who had never been thoroughly subdued, were reduced to order. So Spain

was finally 'pacated,' as the Roman phrase went, after two centuries had passed from the time when the Romans first entered the Iberian peninsula. And a great region to the west of the old Carthaginian dominions was brought partly into Roman possession, partly under Roman control. The only land of the West which was afterwards annexed was Britain, in the reign of Claudius.

It is curious, at first sight, that Augustus, who loved to proclaim himself as the renovator of old Roman ideas, unwisely abandoned, should have been fated to work systematically at the removal of the political wall which kept aloof the Roman in Italy from the non-Roman beyond. But, on reflexion, it will be seen that he had no choice. The task of governing the whole ancient world directly from the centre was as yet impossible. To form a military force sufficiently large to press immediately on all the newly subdued regions of the West, where local administration was undeveloped, was equally impossible for financial reasons, not to mention others. The only alternative was to win over gradually the backward peoples by introducing among them as the chief instrument for promoting civilisation and as the principal organ of government the Italian municipality. But this policy might have failed at the outset if it had not been applied with such variations as might adapt it to the peculiarities and even to the prejudices of the newly conquered populations. With an infinite patience, amounting in the truest sense to genius, the needs of every section were studied and regarded. By the wisdom of Augustus the whole political face of the western portion of the Roman dominions was changed during his reign.

We will consider the municipal history of the western portion of the empire in the imperial period, beginning with the extension of local self-government in extreme northern Italy and in Gaul, and among the peoples in the newly conquered lands round about the Alps and to the east and north-east of the Italian peninsula, then passing to Britain, Spain and Africa. But we must first fully realise that the

whole municipal evolution was under the direct guidance of the emperors. They and they alone controlled the status and privileges of all communities and individuals throughout the whole empire. All gifts of citizenship, either in its Roman or its Latin form, came from them, whether it was granted to individuals or to towns. They were the dispensers of the coveted title 'colonia,' which linked a community with the imperial name. They modified, if they so chose, all the treaty rights of allied powers, increasing, diminishing or abolishing privileges as they pleased. They imposed taxation on societies whose immunity had been guaranteed of old; or remitted imposts to those which had been previously taxed. They dealt at their will with the semi-independent principalities within or on the outskirts of their dominions. It made no difference whether communities or persons affected lay within the limits of provinces which were allotted formally to the Senate, or to those reserved for the imperial superintendence. The prerogative of the emperors in all these respects knew no bounds.

The Ligurians, though they bordered on Etruria, occupied the Roman arms for as long a time as the Spaniards. They had often been handled with the utmost severity, but it remained for Augustus to complete the conquest of their country. Here was one of the parts of Italy, as we regard it, which was left outside the Roman Italy, even after the reorganisation of Augustus. One of the eleven 'regiones' into which he divided the peninsula was called 'Liguria,' but it excluded the more untamed of the Ligurians. A new province, named after the Maritime Alps, which formed part of it, was arranged. It extended from Savona to Monte Viso (Vesulus) and consisted largely of forest. The Latinisation of this province was but gradually accomplished. Only parts of it enjoyed the Latin franchise down to the time of Nero, who granted it to all the inhabitants. The full citizenship was not generally attained until a good deal later. In the time of Augustus there were Ligurians who wore long hair after the barbarian fashion and, like some other northern

tribes, were called 'capillati' or 'comati.' It was perhaps with reference to the general gift of Latin rights by Nero that the poet Lucan spoke of the Ligurians as "now shorn." The country did not lend itself to the formation of towns; the natives were generally denoted as 'village-dwellers,' sometimes as 'highlanders' (*montani*). Their land must have been divided into districts which were substitutes for municipalities. The people in each enjoyed, in a limited way, a right of self-government, carried on at first in indigenous fashion, but gradually changing to the Latin, and then to the Roman form. The most usual name for such districts in the early stage was 'civitas,' a title which we shall encounter many times elsewhere. Some of the places in this district which are now of most importance derive from communities of the Roman or an earlier age. Nice (Nicaea) lay within this province and must have early acquired Roman privileges. Ventimiglia was in ancient times 'Album Intimilium,' named from a tribe called Intimilii. Strabo called it "a city of fair size." A place similarly named was 'Album Ingaunum,' now Albigena. An interesting inscription records the reconstruction of the town, its walls, docks, forum etc., by the Emperor Constantius about the middle of the fourth century.

A venerable memorial of the work done by Augustus in pacifying this region and the sub-Alpine districts generally, still exists in the conspicuous monument which bears the name 'Turbia,' derived from the original title 'Tropaea Augusti,' 'the trophy of Augustus.' On a height above Monaco (the ancient Monoecus) a great structure, visible afar over sea and land, was reared. It was faced with marble, but the core alone remains. Sculptures in relief presented scenes from the Alpine campaigns of the emperor's reign. Of the inscription only a few letters are now discernible, but Pliny has preserved for us a full copy. It records the names of forty-six Alpine peoples who had been reduced to subjection, and also mentions that the memorial was erected by the "Senate and people of Rome," about B.C. 7. In his own record of achievements, which we know by the title of the

'Monumentum Ancyranum,' Augustus mentions that he had brought to a peaceful state the Alps from the Adriatic to the Mediterranean, and almost the same words were inscribed on the face of the 'Tropaea.' The practice of erecting trophies on mountain tops was not new. Pompey had commemorated his victories in Spain by a pile raised on a ridge of the Pyrenees. And it is possible that Catullus refers to a trophy of the same kind in Caesar's honour when he speaks of "marching beyond the Alps to set eyes on the monuments of mighty Caesar."

The province of the Maritime Alps, like several of the newer provinces, was governed by an imperial agent (*procurator*), of less dignity than the 'legatus,' who was chosen from among the senators, and was the ordinary governor of an imperial province. But the region next to the Maritime Alps, that of the Cottian Alps (Alpes Cottiae), was organised in another fashion. It stretched from about Monte Viso to the Gran Paradiso. There was in this country in Caesar's time a prince of some rank, Donnus by name, who entered into friendly relations with Rome, and on receiving the Roman citizenship, called himself C. Iulius Donnus. His son, M. Iulius Cottius, was appointed governor of fourteen tribal communities (*civitates*) whose names were inscribed on a great arch, still standing in good preservation outside the town of Susa (ancient Segusio), which was the capital of the district. Augustus and Cottius had met outside Susa and had made a compact. Donnus retained the royal title during his lifetime. In the inscription of Susa, Cottius gives his father the name of king, but describes himself as 'praefectus.' On his father's death, he had agreed to become a Roman officer, but had been granted his office for the term of his life. He appears to have been in all but the name a client or vassal prince. We must suppose that his rule over the fourteen 'civitates' was constitutional, and that they enjoyed, like those in the Maritime Alps, a measure of autonomy. The massive arch at Susa, more than forty feet in height, was constructed a little earlier than the monument of Turbia.

It has reliefs, representing sacrifices and acts of loyalty done by the tribes to the suzerain power. The alliance between Rome and the line of Donnus was of some consequence to the Romans while the Alpine slopes were being brought under control. The position of Segusio on an important road leading from the Po valley to that of the Rhone would have enabled the rulers to give much trouble, had they been so inclined. As it is, only three of the tribes over which Donnus and Cottius ruled appear among the forty-six whose names were engraved on the trophy of Augustus. The native rulers had been able to keep nearly all their subjects at peace with Rome.

The descendants of Donnus became thoroughly Romanised. A friend of Ovid, whom he calls Vestalis, is described by him as "the valorous offspring of the high-born Donnus," and as a man in authority in the barbarous country where the poet lived in exile. This man is known to us from an inscription as an officer in the Roman army. The policy of attaching to Rome important native princes, by education and by the gift of Roman citizenship, was steadily pursued by Augustus. He encouraged foreign chiefs to send their sons to be reared in the capital, and some of them went to school with the emperor's grandsons in the Palatium, under the famous schoolmaster Verrius Flaccus. No doubt Cottius had grown up amid Roman and Latin influences. Some redoubtable opponents of Rome in later days had received similar education and were Roman burgesses; among them the great Arminius, who had a brother named Flavus and a nephew called Italicus; also Iulius Florus the leader of the Treviri, and Iulius Sacrovir, who led the Aedui to revolt. The number of barbarian families which adopted the name 'Iulius' was considerable.

The emperor Claudius bestowed on Cottius the title of King and enlarged his dominions. It was probably on his death at an advanced age that Nero annexed the district over which he had ruled. But Cottius was not forgotten. His tomb was seen outside Segusio by the historian Ammianus

in the fourth century, and even then heroic honours were paid to his memory. The name 'regnum Cottii' clung to his dominions for many generations, and the group of mountains which they comprised took its Roman name from him (Alpes Cottiae). It would appear that Augustus bestowed Latin rights on some or all of the Cottian 'civitates.' This is definitely recorded of Eburodunum (Embrun), which lay far in advance of Segusio, towards Gaul. We cannot clearly trace the gradual development of the Cottian realm, and the acquisition of full Roman privileges. Segusio was of course destined to become an important Roman township. It lay just at the point where the routes to the two most important Alpine passes in this direction diverged. The road to the south went by Brigantio (Briançon) on to Arelate and Massilia. The one to the north was the way over the Mont Cenis. Naturally Segusio was held by a Roman garrison from the time of Augustus, perhaps from that of Caesar. The device of Augustus, by which a native prince was recognised as a Roman governor for life, was not exactly repeated anywhere else in the empire. It illustrates admirably the plasticity of Roman principles of government in their application to backward populations.

Behind Segusio, within the limits of 'Italia,' at the point where the Dora Riparia joins the Po, was established a great Roman colonial foundation, the 'colonia Iulia Augusta Taurinorum,' which we call Turin. The lines of the modern city have preserved to a remarkable degree the plan of the ancient colony. Indeed until the sixteenth century it retained the original walls and remained within them. Excavations at a depth of a few feet continually reveal more and more of the Augustan scheme. The principal street of the modern city is exactly in the line of the 'decumanus maximus' of the imperial foundation. One of the great massive gates, now named the 'Porta Palatina,' still exists in excellent preservation. Further to the north lay Eporedia, founded in the valley of the Dora Baltea as a burgess colony in 100 B.C. on the great road which ran from Mediolanum (Milan) through

Vercellae to the Alps, issuing in the two great passes of the Little St Bernard and the Great St Bernard. These had been used by barbarian invaders of Italy from time immemorial, but only became important as Roman routes in the age of Caesar. The great troublers of the country hereabouts from of old were the Salassi, who frequently raided the plains. They were mostly massacred or sold into slavery or transplanted in ruthless fashion by the generals of Augustus. Forty or fifty miles beyond Ivrea the road splits and leads in one direction to the Great St Bernard (Alpes Poeninae), in the other to the Little St Bernard (Alpes Graiae). At the point of separation, where two streams, the Dora and the Buthier, meet, the emperor placed a colony which has endured until now with the name Aosta. The word thinly veils the first part of the colony's original title, which was 'Augusta Praetoria Salassorum.' It is but one of many cities in whose modern designations the name of the great emperor can be traced. Here were settled three thousand veterans of the Praetorian Guard. Aosta has preserved far more remains above ground of its ancient state than Turin; among them walls and towers, a fine gate and a triumphal arch outside, with a remarkable theatre and a fine bridge. The outlines of the original city can be clearly made out, and the special precautions taken to protect it against a sudden rush of mountaineers are distinctly traceable. It has been supposed that some of the conquered Salassi were allowed to join the foundation and become citizens. But the idea rests on a misinterpretation of a single inscription.

With the advent of peace in the Po valley, some of the older cities of Celtic origin began to flourish as they never had flourished before. Vercellae appears as an insignificant place in Strabo's work, but in the age of Tacitus it was an important city. So too with Novaria (Novara) and still more with Mediolanum (Milan), the old capital of the Insubrian tribe, whose schools gave it a lustre even when Virgil was young and when Pliny wrote his letters; and in the age of Ausonius and Augustine it still held its fame. Other ancient cities

lying under the Alps which had been Celtic before they were Roman have continued to this day; Como (Comum), Mantua, Verona, Bergamo (Bergomum), Cremona, Piacenza (Placentia), but, excepting in Verona, the traces of ancient times are few. The great amphitheatre at Verona is of course one of the most imposing relics of antiquity. The position of the city on the Adige (Athesis) at the outlet of the Brenner pass, where it intersects the great highway leading through the Po valley from the east, has made it important in all ages. It had been in the possession of the great tribe of the Cenomani, the eastern neighbours of the Insubres, when the Romans entered the basin of the Po. About sixty miles up the Brenner road, Augustus refounded Tridentum (Trient), not as a 'colonia,' but as a 'municipium.' Thus Tridentum and Verona stood much in the same relation to each other as Segusio (Susa) to Turin, and Aosta to Eporedia (Ivrea). Another reconstituted town that has had a great history is Trieste (Tergeste), also made a 'municipium' not a 'colonia.' An extant inscription shows that it was fortified by Augustus as early as 32 B.C. It was one of a chain of fortresses stretching far to the eastward. Augustus also strengthened Brixia (Brescia), an old abode of the Cenomani, by settling colonists there, who were not, however, veteran soldiers. Its official title became 'colonia civica Augusta Brixia.' Considerable Roman remains are there to be seen. Older towns in this region, as Ravenna and Aquileia, had a notable history in the imperial age. The annals of Pavia are curious. It was in Roman times the municipality of Ticinum, taking its title, like many another Italian town, from the neighbouring river. The modern name dates from the Lombard domination, when the real importance of Pavia in history begins. A curious survival is to be found in the name Lodi, made famous by Napoleon. It was at first 'Laus Pompeia,' and commemorated the father of the great Pompey, Pompeius Strabo, who conferred Latin rights on the Transpadanes. Of course the queen of all northern Italian cities, Venice, was not to come into being for centuries after the Roman power had waned.

Taken as a whole, the work accomplished by Augustus in the regions which fringe the valley of the Po was immense and enduring. The Alpine slopes, and in certain cases almost the Alpine crests, were connected in some fashion with the municipal organisation which had already overspread the plains. We have already had occasion to speak of some features of the older municipalities in the land watered by the Po and its tributaries, their extensive 'territoria,' and their responsibility for the government of barbaric districts ('attributae regiones') which were not ripe for citizenship. This institution of the 'assigned district' is very characteristic of the march of Roman civilisation and deserves a closer study. Although it is not confined by any means to the valley of the Po and the Alpine valleys above it, but occurs in other directions, the material for studying it is most abundant in the country with which we are now dealing, and illustrations of its importance may most conveniently be given here.

In 1869 a bronze tablet was discovered near Trient at a place called Cles in the 'Val di Non,' which recorded part of a decision given by the emperor Claudius on some disputed points that had been laid before him concerning 'municipia' in north Italy, Comum, Tridentum and probably others. The inscription first makes mention of a long-standing quarrel between Comum and a people called the Bergalei, whose name survives in that of the 'Val Bregaglia.' Doubtless this nation was in some way dependent on the municipality of Comum. Then comes the part which caused the document to be kept with care in the country where it was found, having been preserved in all probability in a temple of a local god who took the name of Saturn. Three peoples are mentioned, the Anauni, the Tulliasses and the Sinduni. The name of the Anauni lives still in the appellation of the Val di Non. It was alleged that part of this population had been 'attributed' to Tridentum, while part had not even been 'attributed.' Nevertheless many members of the clans had assumed themselves to be Roman burgesses, without any valid title

whatever, as Claudius says. Some had actually served in the Praetorian Guard, for which full citizenship was supposed to be strictly demanded; others had become centurions in the legions; others again had been placed on the lists at Rome from which 'iudices' were drawn. These men, the emperor declares, had become so mixed up with the inhabitants of Tridentum that to cut them off would inflict serious injury on that "noble municipality" (*splendidi municipi*). He therefore confirms them in the possession of the Roman privileges, and validates legally all the acts performed by them in the belief that they were full citizens, and allows them to use the Romanised names which they had adopted.

Incidentally, this inscription indicates the great extent of the territory dominated by Tridentum. It also shows how difficult it was to maintain the legal barrier between the 'attributed district' and the municipality proper. What went on at Tridentum no doubt occurred in all places of similar constitution. We learn from Tacitus that Cremona "grew to full stature" (*adolevit*) and flourished because of its connexion with the surrounding clans, and of intermarriages with them. These clans must have been 'attributed' to Cremona when it was founded in 218 B.C. or soon after, although we have no direct evidence of the fact. And it is not conceivable that the right of contracting legal marriage existed at the outset between the Latin colonists and the Celtic clans around. But examples elsewhere have already shown us that restrictions on marriage rapidly tended to become obsolete. We know the names of tribes which were subjected to Brixia, Bergomum, Verona and Tergeste, as well as Tridentum. We must not imagine that the relation of the subjected peoples to the municipal centres was everywhere the same. The country folk who were attributed to Brixia had Latin rights in the early days of the empire, and these may have been bestowed on the subjects of some other cities in northern Italy. Brixia had lordship over the Camunni, whose name can still be discerned in that of the 'Val Camonica,' the Trumplini (in Val Trompia), the Sabini

(in Val Sabbia) and the Benacenses, named from the lake Benacus (Lago di Garda) by which they dwelt. Of these the Camunni and the Trumplini appear in the inscription on the trophy of Augustus. Two clans called the Carni and the Catali were connected with Tergeste (Trieste) by Augustus, but they seem to have remained peregrins until the general enfranchisement by Caracalla. Yet a decree of Antoninus Pius permitted their members to hold office in Tergeste, with a title to the Roman citizenship as a consequence.

In most instances the subjects must have paid tribute to the town. So when Caesar subordinated the Gaulish tribe of the Boii to that of the Aedui, he directed them to pay a tax to the suzerain community. The inscription to which reference has been already made, giving a decision pronounced by the Minucii as arbitrators in a dispute between the town of Genua and some of its subjects (about 116 B.C.), states that the municipality received rent for portions of public land which the 'attributed' people were allowed to use. It also appears that the town exercised a certain legal jurisdiction over the clans; probably only in important matters. This condition must have been very general.

One other city at no great distance from Tergeste deserves to be mentioned, Pola, in the Istrian peninsula, a colony of Augustus. Splendid antiquities remain there; in particular a magnificent ruined amphitheatre and a temple erected in honour of Roma and Augustus. Pola was sometimes reckoned the border city between Italy and Dalmatia.

We now turn to those provinces near Italy, the lines of whose organisation on municipal or quasi-municipal principles were laid down in the early imperial age. The policy of Caesar and Augustus was first applied on a large scale to Gaul and Spain. It will be most convenient to study Gaul first, and then to consider the regulation of the newly subdued districts in the direction of the Rhine and Danube, then passing to Spain after a glance at Britain.

One of the most telling points in the history of Roman

conquest is that a nation once conquered hardly ever afterwards struck a signal blow for liberty, even when the conqueror was deep in difficulty elsewhere. That there should have been only passing disturbances in Gaul during all the troubled time which stretches from Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon to the battle of Actium must astonish every reader of the 'Commentaries' of Caesar. Not until the Roman tax-collector goaded the people into insurrection, more than seventy years after the defeat of Vercingetorix, did the Gauls find a leader of national revolt; and even then the movement headed by Iulius Sacrovir was never menacing to the Roman power. This great result was mainly the fruit of wise self-restraint on the part of the Roman government, and of scrupulousness in respecting the social structure and the religious and political prejudices of the conquered peoples. Romanisation was not forced on them; but it was displayed to them for their voluntary acceptance, and, as elsewhere, the Roman faith in the operation of time was not disappointed.

Until the age of Gaius Gracchus, the Romans were content to make their way to Spain by sea, though few peoples in history have had less of the maritime spirit. There was an ancient alliance between Rome and Massilia, by far the most important Greek city of the West excepting Syracuse and Tarentum. Tradition assigned the treaty of friendship to 395 B.C. Though the date has been assailed by sceptical criticism, there is good evidence to support it. The first Roman army landed in Gaul in 218 B.C., when the consul Scipio arrived too late to intercept the march of Hannibal. The next time that legions were seen to the west of the Alps was in 154 B.C., when assistance was given to the Massaliots against their Ligurian enemies; but no permanent settlement was made till a much later date. In the years 125—122 there were campaigns, which issued in the first annexation. The fortress of Aquae Sextiae (Aix) was established, taking its name in part from a Roman general, in part from some hot springs, for which the Romans sought eagerly wherever they passed. In 118 the great burgess colony of Narbo

Martius was founded, at a place where there was already a flourishing native town. The new community rose rapidly in importance, at the expense of Massilia, according doubtless to the deliberate policy of the Senate. An immediate effect of the advent of the Romans was that the Greek culture radiating from Massilia which had deeply affected a wide area of the inland regions was checked in its influence and slowly superseded. But until the age of Caesar the process was not rapid. The annexed region was first known as 'breech-clad Gaul' (Gallia braccata); a name which indicates that the inhabitants of Cisalpine Gaul had already laid aside what Tacitus described as "the garment of barbarians" (*barbarum integumentum*). About the time when Narbo was founded a garrison was posted at the ancient native city of Tolosa, at first with the consent of the indigenous population, the Volcae. The later designation for the region was 'provincia Narbonensis,' commonly shortened to 'provincia,' which we see now, hardly changed, in the name 'Provence.' The boundaries of the province were for long not accurately defined. The Romans were merely concerned to control the coast route to Spain. But a great revolution was effected, first by Caesar's conquest, then by the civil war between himself and Pompeius. The first result of the expeditions which led to the acquisition of the Narbonensian province had been to increase the municipal territory of Massilia. But in the civil strife the city allied itself with the losing faction, and suffered cruelly. Although it retained its municipal autonomy, its extensive dominions were severely curtailed, and land was thus freed for the founding of new civic communities. For these, as for the Roman conquest, the way had been prepared by the Italian traders. We learn that as early as 69 B.C. Gaul was full of Roman burgesses and that all the commerce of the land was controlled by them, and that "not a coin was moved there without an entry in Roman books of account." So Cicero tells us.

Caesar did not live to frame a permanent system of government for the lands which he had won between the

Rhine, the Pyrenees and the sea. Mommsen is, as usual, much less than just to Augustus when, speaking of Gaul, he says "here, if anywhere, Augustus was nothing but the executor of Caesar's testament." The great Dictator left but a few hints to his successor, who carried out that great process of municipalisation which by the end of his reign made of the 'provincia' the most thoroughly Latinised portion of the empire outside Italy, excepting, perhaps, southern Spain, while an ingenious adaptation of the forms of local government to the rest of Gaul paved the way for its peaceful penetration by Roman influences. The policy which Augustus meant to pursue in the country must have been fully conceived by 22 B.C., when he placed the 'provincia' under the jurisdiction of the Senate. But it was within the power of an emperor to change profoundly the structure even of a province that was 'senatorial.' Here, as everywhere in the West, the influence of newly introduced Latin-speaking settlers was out of all proportion to their numbers. The composite population, comprising Celtic, Ligurian and Iberian elements, yielded quickly to the attraction of Roman civilisation, and Italian forms of social organisation. The culture of the Italian peninsula effaced, in a social sense, the Alpine barrier, and the 'provincia' became an extension of Italy.

As has often been remarked, the modern traveller who makes his way to Italy through southern France receives from the great Roman remains at Orange, Nîmes, Arles, Aix, Saint-Remy and other places an impression of bygone municipal splendour which is only deepened, and not eclipsed, when he becomes acquainted with the ancient memorials that survive within the peninsula itself. And the magnificent public structures which were the pride of these old city commonwealths, sprang up as if by magic on their sites with but little assistance from the imperial government. Local patriotism and local ambition created them almost entirely by means of local resources. The 'provincia' was now deemed to embrace all the land on the left bank of the Rhone, between the river and the Alps, and it even extended into

the Alpine valleys up to and beyond Geneva. On the west of the Rhone, it included a strip beginning at the lake of Geneva and widening gradually to the south, skirting the Cevennes and the river Tarn, and the upper reaches of the Garonne, taking in Toulouse and extending to the Pyrenees. All this great region was brought within the municipal system and was split up into 'territoria' attached to cities, with the one exception of the country inhabited by the Vocontii, to the east of the Rhone between Valentia (Valence) and Arausio (Orange). This people retained its Gallic institutions for a long period. It continued to be 'civitas foederata,' though it had two urban centres of some importance, Vasio (Vaison) and Lucus Augusti. The changes in the 'provincia' proceeded with great rapidity during the reign of Augustus; but outside the limits of this Narbonensian province a far different policy was pursued, and the contrast between the two systems has left a lasting impression on the history of France. One consequence was the distinction between the 'langue d'oil' and the 'langue d'oc,' which is still reflected in the name 'Languedoc.'

The older towns of the south continued to prosper under the early empire. Massilia retained her old forms of government for a considerable time. Though cramped in her territory, she claimed importance by her geographical position. The Hellenic culture, now restricted in its action by the Latinisation of the Rhone valley, maintained its ground in the city for centuries. Before the day of misfortune, ushered in by opposition to Caesar, the territory of Massilia had been described by Cicero as "a fringe of Greece clinging to the lands of the barbarians." Tacitus admired the city as a home of learning, and as combining in happy proportion the humanity that was Greek with the simplicity of life which once was Roman. But the rise of many flourishing towns in the Narbonensian province, and particularly along the course of the Rhone, gradually impaired the welfare of Massilia; and Ausonius in the fourth century gave her no place among the "brilliant cities" (*clarae urbes*) of Gaul. A Greek writer of

the early sixth century laments that she had lost all trace of her Hellenic origin. Tolosa, from which radiated important lines of communication, could not fail of greatness as a Latin and later a Roman community. In Martial this old city of the Volcae figures as a literary centre, dear to Pallas and the Muses. Narbo was in the first Christian century the greatest city of Gaul; in the second it was outranked by Lugudunum. These older cities have had a continuous history to our time which, as elsewhere, has caused the buildings of the Roman age to disappear.

Caesar reconstituted Narbo by settling veteran soldiers there, but he made no extensive changes in the Narbonensian province. He raised the old Gallic town of Arelate (Arles) to the rank of a Roman colony, supplying it with military settlers, and from that time it held a conspicuous position among provincial cities. Its river-borne commerce was great, and it must be remembered that even the tributaries of the Rhone, in their lower courses, were important commercial highways. In the later imperial age the inhabitants ignored the Celtic history of the place and the soldiers whom Caesar planted there, and boldly claimed Greek descent; a claim which the citizens of Arles to-day are jealous to sustain. The territory of Arelate, gained at the expense of Massilia, was large, and at the present day the commune of Arles is the most extensive in France. The importance of the city in the early annals of the Christian Church is well known. The splendid amphitheatre has been in great part preserved, and other relics remain to attest the brilliance of Roman Arles.

One of the most interesting new foundations, or rather reorganisations, took place at Nemausus (Nîmes). This town took its name from an old Gallic divinity, much venerated in this region, the protector of springs and fountains. The early history of Nemausus, as regulated by Roman rulers, is obscure. It was the chief of twenty-four towns of the great clan of the Volcae. It would appear that Caesar organised these into a kind of quasi-civic federation somewhat resembling that which Augustus created in the Cottian Alps, excepting that no officer like Cottius was placed at its head. Indeed Augustus

may have taken his idea from the first state of the combination which had Nemausus for its centre. This is perhaps indicated by the fact that the Cottian confederacy, as well as the province of the Maritime Alps, was treated as pertaining to Gaul, not to Italy. These districts formed part of a unit of financial administration which comprised also all Gaul west of the Alps. Commerce passing the frontiers of this whole region had to pay a fixed duty, the 'quadragesima Galliarum.' Pliny seems to be in error when he says that the minor towns of the Volcae were "attributed," that is subjected, to Nemausus. It is true that Galba did assign some Alpine tribes to the city. But apart from that there were no differences of privilege within the territory of which the city was the metropolis. Coins which were minted in Nemausus in the Augustan age exhibit some strange devices, such as crocodiles, which have led to the conjecture that either Augustus or Caesar settled here soldiers who had served in Egypt. Soon the federation acquired Latin rights. The date at which Nemausus became a Roman colony cannot be precisely ascertained. Pliny gives obsolete information when he describes Nemausus as a Latin town. That Caesar settled some veterans at Nemausus, as well as Narbo, seems to be shown by the title bestowed on both by Augustus, 'colonia Iulia Paterna.' One of the massive gates of the ancient fortifications still stands, with an inscription which records that Augustus bestowed "upon the colony" its gates and walls in 16 B.C. This is the very year in which a great citizen of Nemausus was born, Domitius Afer, the teacher of Quintilian. Afer is one of the characters of Tacitus, and he does not shine brilliantly in the pages of the 'Annals.' The whole land inhabited by the Volcae (apart from Tolosa) became the 'territorium' of a colonial municipality, with Nemausus for its central place. Its full title was 'colonia Augusta Nemausus.' The citizens were obsequious subjects of the emperor. When Tiberius was out of favour with Augustus they threw down his statues and obliterated the inscriptions by which he had been honoured. The emperor's grandsons, who were his destined successors, died

untimely, and the citizens of Nemausus erected in their honour the beautiful temple which has survived with little injury, and is now the local museum, known as the 'Maison Carrée.' The inscription which recorded the origin of the temple was recovered in a strange manner. Every letter had disappeared, but holes made by the nails which had affixed them to the stone were still there and enabled the dedication to be traced. Other magnificent remains at Nîmes are familiar to travellers, as the amphitheatre, better preserved than the Roman Coliseum, and the part of the magnificent aqueduct which spanned the river Gard, and is now named the 'Pont du Gard.' This is one of the most grandiose of all the memorials of Roman greatness.

The great clan of the Allobroges seems to have passed through the same stages of municipal evolution as that of the Volcae. Their principal place was Vienna (Vienne), situated just where a branch of the road from Italy which passes by Mont Genèvre issues in the valley of the Rhone. From the time of Pompey this was the most frequented of all the routes which connected Italy with Gaul. As an extant inscription attests, Augustus bestowed on Vienna its fortifications. He may have granted to the town its Roman status. Certainly it possessed burgess rights in the time of Nero. Its territory was extraordinarily large, comprising the modern Dauphiné and large part of Savoy. Within it were important places like Cularo, whose modern name Grenoble is traceable to the title Gratianopolis, bestowed upon it as a favour by the emperor Gratian (as Arelate took a new name from Constantine), and Genava (Geneva). These towns did not acquire independent municipal institutions until a late time. If the Romans had followed the course which they took in many other parts of their world, they would have divided this great domain among a number of municipalities. But, as in the case of the Volcae, they allowed the Allobroges, who had often been their enemies, to remain for a time a solid unit, with a constitution more like that of Attica than of an ordinary municipality in the West.

The history of Nemausus and Vienna illustrates in a

notable manner the tendency of the Romans in their administration to take full account of local circumstances. Of the many other places in the old Narbonensian province which were gradually Latinised and then Romanised, it would take too long to tell. In the first part of the reign of Augustus and possibly in some instances earlier, there was a wide extension of the Latin franchise, succeeded at no great distance of time by the full Roman status. Some of the newly founded or rather newly constituted cities have shone on the page of later history; Aquae Sextiae (Aix), for instance, and Arausio (Orange), and Avennio (Avignon) and Valentia (Valence). The last place is almost unique in the region by virtue of its Roman name. Many towns here bore in their longer official titles reference to the legions which had supplied them with settlers. But the veteran colonists did not constitute a class apart. From the first they coalesced with the native inhabitants to form new communities. And this was here the general imperial policy. Only a few of the cities of the Rhone valley speak to us now of their Roman stage by splendid survivals. But it may well be that in ancient days scores of smaller communities were in possession of temples and other buildings which would be deemed a precious heritage had time spared them to the present age. The almost unknown municipality called Glanum Livii, situated where Saint-Remy now is, has left behind it stately relics, among them two almost perfect monuments, a triumphal arch of the Augustan age, and a beautiful mausoleum constructed for a family called Iulii, a widely accepted name in Gaulish lands, as we have seen. This structure, of the same period as the arch, shows Greek influence to a notable degree. One interesting memorial of old Arausio exists in a fragment of the map (*forma*) which was always inscribed on stone or bronze when a colony was founded. It served as a register of titles to holdings in land within the 'territorium' of the city, and also as evidence of boundaries. We have a number of references to these 'formae' in connexion with disputes about land. The most celebrated

'forma' was the great marble map of Rome set up there by Agrippa, of which fragments from time to time have come to light.

The Romans owed their rapid success in municipalising the 'provincia' in good part to the fact that they were reaping where the Massaliotes had sown. These Greeks had made a deep impression on the Gauls long before the advent of the Romans. They spread their trading posts far and wide, and along the coasts they settled colonies which developed in some cases into important towns. The Hellenic names of these settlements are still often easily traceable in their modern titles. Thus Nice or Nizza was once Nikaia, the 'city of victory,' Antibes was Antipolis, Monaco was Monoikos. So on the coast of Spain Rhode (possibly Rhodian by origin) is now Rosas, and Emporiae is Ampurias. There were many other offshoots from Massilia. Where the Roman power had to deal with a comparatively small area which had been affected by an earlier form of civilisation, there success in their municipal experiments was most speedy and complete. This applies not only to the valley of the Rhone, but to southern Spain and north-western Africa, where mingled Punian and Hellenic influences had prepared the way. When they had to break new ground among barbarians their progress was less swift. Small isolated Hellenised districts such as Sicily were easily transformed by the Romans when they set their hand seriously to the task. But the field in the East, of which the Greek civilisation had taken hold, was too vast and too continuous to be attacked with any success by the spirit of the West.

We must now take a glance at the mode in which the local autonomy of 'long-haired Gaul' (Gallia Comata), that is, Gaul outside the 'provincia,' was guaranteed. Augustus devised a scheme which was in its essence municipal, but in many of its features did not repeat the forms of municipalism which existed in other parts of the empire. He divided the land into three provinces, Gallia Lugdunensis, Aquitania and Belgica. He was careful so to draw the boundaries that no

one ethnic element covered a province. In the first the Celtic population prevailed, in the second the Iberian, in the third the Germanic. All three sections were treated in the same manner. This was possible because, however much they differed from one another, they all consisted alike of clans or tribes and were equally averse by tradition to city life. In Caesar's time there were more than three hundred tribal groups in the area covered by the three provinces. But a great number of these were in subjection to others. As in the Scottish Highlands, there was a perpetual struggle on the part of the larger and stronger tribes to subdue the weaker. The natives were glad to embrace the Roman peace, and adapted themselves readily to the form of government traced out by Augustus. Three triumphs were won in Gaul by Roman generals within a few years of Caesar's death; but triumphs in those days went cheap, and were accorded for the suppression of slight *émeutes*. The new civic unit was called 'civitas,' as in the federation of 'civitates' ruled by Cottius; but the 'civitates' in Gaul were just as autonomous as the ordinary Latin or Roman municipalities, and the form of administration in each was rudimentarily municipal. The number of these 'civitates' was only sixty, or later sixty-four. Clans were not as a rule broken up, but minor clans were grouped, or attached to larger. The actual shape assumed by the local institutions is hard to make out, as inscriptions and monuments of the Roman age are scanty in the whole land. But there was always a council and a magistracy, roughly comparable with those of a Latin or a Roman town. Every 'civitas' had attached to it the name of some clan, such as the Aedui, Helvetii, Lingones, Nervii. The colour of the local government must have been aristocratic; for the strength of the nobles was not broken, nor was there much levelling of classes. So far as the Roman power was concerned, each community was treated like the municipalities elsewhere. The same duties might be imposed, and the same boons granted. But during the flourishing period of municipal government in the empire, the formal changes of status in Gaul

were few, and after that time alterations were titular rather than real. We find in late days the title of 'colonia' attached to some 'civitates'; so that we have strange-looking designations such as 'colonia Sequanorum,' 'colonia Morinorum.' But a municipal map of Gallia Comata would wear a different appearance from that of Italy or even of the Narbonensian province. Few of the 'civitates' possessed a town of any importance. Burdigala (Bordeaux) among the Bituriges was a rare exception. It is therefore natural that the modern names of many French cities should reflect the names of the old clans; so Reims comes from Remi; Sens from Senones, Limoges from Lemovices, Soissons from Suessones, and so on. Where there was a Gaulish town, the predecessor of a modern town, the latter often bears a name not connected with the Celtic designation of the town itself, but with the name of the tribe whose centre the place was. Thus Samarobriva, the town of the Ambiani, is now Amiens; and Noviomagus, among the Lexovii, is Lisieux.

The new civic creations of the Romans in all this vast territory were but few. The earliest and in many ways the most notable was Lugudunum (Lyons), just outside the old 'provincia.' It stood at a point supremely advantageous for trade, as well as for administration, where the Rhone (Rhodanus) and the Saône (Arar) meet. There, in 43 B.C., a community of Roman burgesses was established by T. Munatius Plancus, whose gigantic tomb, still well preserved, is now enclosed in the fortifications of Gaeta in Italy. The new settlement became almost forthwith one of the great cities of the world, and has so continued to this day. It was endowed with hardly any territory. From the first the intention was that it should thrive, not by great estates, like Milan and other cities originally Gaulish, but by its trade and its advantages as a seat of government for the whole of 'long-haired Gaul.' All the threads of Roman public service in this great region converged at Lugudunum and were gathered up at that centre. And Augustus created no burgess city in any of the three provinces. The bold genius of the Romans as

governors was never better exhibited than in the whole policy with which Lugudunum was connected. All the prejudices of the natives were respected, even in minute details. In the entire land no soldiers were quartered. Even the defence of Lugudunum was entrusted to a small detachment of armed constabulary. The town was protected by one cohort of the so-called 'urban cohorts' which had been embodied by Augustus for the policing of the capital. The Jewish king Agrippa was impressed by the apparent fact that the Romans were able to maintain their hold on Gaul by a force of twelve hundred men. If the Romans made this boast, it was vain; for the Gallic provinces were kept in subjection by the legions on the Rhine, which were technically outside. Still the position of Gaul was actually unique among the provinces of the West. Africa, Spain and the regions near the Danube and Rhine were guarded by legions, stationed in perturbed districts or on the borders, beyond the settled tracts occupied by the purely civil communities.

Gallia Comata never became under the Romans a land distinguished for noble cities. It contrasted greatly in this respect, not only with Italy, but with Gallia Narbonensis, Spain, and Northern Africa, and even with Noricum and Pannonia. The only Roman lands in the West which can be compared with Gallia Comata in this respect are Roman Germany and Britain. In none of these cases is the result to be attributed to the nature of the country. The inhabitants were in the same condition as in many other districts of the empire which were rich in flourishing towns. The explanation lies in the deliberate policy of the imperial government. It is true that a deep-seated instinct rendered Gauls and Germans alike averse to town life. But this aversion had existed elsewhere and had been easily overcome when the Romans had set themselves to conquer it. Neither in the three Gallic provinces nor on the Rhine did they strenuously endeavour to win over the natives to the Graeco-Italic conception of civic life. Outside the Narbonensian province few places were actually regulated as Roman

'coloniae' in the earlier days when that title was not merely a name. One of these was Aventicum, the chief town of the great clan of the Helvetii, which probably received its Roman status from Vespasian. Like many another provincial city, it lay desolate in the time of the historian Ammianus, after destruction by German invaders. But a little place in Switzerland between Lausanne and Soleure bears the name of Avenches, and retains striking vestiges of the prosperity of the Roman town in this remote region.

But the greatest of all the Roman foundations which were of later date than Lugudunum was the city which we call Trier or Trèves, according as we use its German or its French name, both alike tracing back to the Celtic clan of the Treviri. It owed its reconstitution as a Roman colony to Claudius. But its name Augusta Trevirorum may have been adopted earlier in honour of the great Augustus. Not a few barbarian towns which were not yet Romanised liked to connect themselves in this way with the imperial house, and titles like Augustodunum and Augustobriga were not uncommon. At first the chief place in Belgica was Reims or Durocortorum Remorum, which Strabo calls the "metropolis" of the Remi. Soon Trèves was recognised as the capital of the province. At the end of the second century the glory of Lugudunum began to pale before the rising fortunes of Augusta Trevirorum. The older town had the misfortune to choose the losing side in the great contest between Albinus and Septimius Severus, which was fought out not far away near the end of the second century. It never quite emerged from the clouds which then gathered round it. Ultimately it was eclipsed by the city on the Moselle just as Massilia had been eclipsed by Lugudunum itself. When Diocletian became supreme, Trèves was recognised officially as the capital of all Gaul, and a little later, under imperial favour, it became in a sense the capital of all western Europe. The magnificence of Trèves in its great age is attested still by grand relics which have not been swept away by any more modern prosperity, such as has been fatal in effacing the traces of antiquity elsewhere.

The absence of a complete Roman municipal organisation did not affect the prosperity of Gaul. It was for long the richest part of the empire, supplying at one time, as we are told, a revenue equal to that derived from all the other provinces subject to Rome. The institutions within the 'civitates' were gradually assimilated to the Roman. But the sudden substitution of Roman law and custom for native was avoided. Unification was wisely left to time. Nationalism was stronger in Gaul than in most other lands; hence the progress was slower. The Roman rule did not prevent some native towns from rising to greatness before being Romanised. Among these was Burdigala (Bordeaux), the city of Ausonius. Augustus himself favoured the rise of Augustodunum, where the national Celtic spirit was fostered by the existence of a sort of University, for the training of young Gallic nobles. The place (now Autun) was the chief town of the Aedui, Rome's earliest allies in Gaul, who had a treaty right to call themselves the 'brothers' of the Romans. This privilege is to be explained, not as a polite condescension to barbarian feeling, but by the extraordinary prevalence of the Trojan legend, which had spread early to barbarian lands. Gallic nobles, like the Roman, loved to trace their origin to Trojan heroes. A sarcastic phrase in one of Cicero's letters will be remembered: "our brothers the Aedui are fighting us."

The result of the imperial policy in the three Gallic provinces was that the penetrating force of Roman ideas and the Latin language was weaker here than in the West generally. Curiously, Aquitania, where the population was prevalently Iberian, was at first more receptive of the Italic leaven than the other two provinces, excepting in matters of religion. Generally speaking, the native religions, languages and social institutions yielded but slowly to the new disintegrating forces. But the material amenities of Roman civilisation were welcomed by the Gallic communities, apart from any change of formal status, and the theatre, the amphitheatre and the basilica were spread abroad. When Hadrian visited Gaul he made gifts of public buildings to many of the

'civitates.' As regards education, thought and feeling, it is easy to draw exaggerated inferences from sources such as the writings of Ausonius and Symmachus in the fourth century. They reflect the culture of the wealthier class. Juvenal speaks of the rhetorician at the altar of Lugudunum as though he were a figure typical of the place, just as he talks of farthest Thule being about to hire a teacher of rhetoric. But Irenaeus, bishop of Lugudunum in 177 A.D., found it necessary to address his audiences in the Celtic tongue, and this was on the very border of the highly Latinised Narbonensian province. The tenacity with which ancient indigenous usage was maintained is evidenced by many facts. The reckoning of distances in Gaul was always by the Celtic league (*leuga*), not by the Roman mile. Yet it must be admitted that the region conquered by Caesar outshone, in the later imperial annals of politics, literature and war, the older Narbonensian province, just as the provinces in general outshone Italy.

It was a fashion of Mommsen, which has been widely copied, to depreciate Augustus, branded as 'Caesar the little,' in order to exalt his adoptive father. But during the short period of his predominance, Caesar was only able to touch the great problems of imperial organisation here and there, and there are hardly any indications that any of the vast schemes which his successor accomplished were ever clearly present to his mind. Our particular subject restricts us to the consideration of only a limited part of the political reconstruction which Augustus carried out. But if we look fairly at his work in Gaul alone, we must feel it to be a testimony to genius and not merely to patience, industry and common sense. It is a memorial of one who was above all things a political builder, while his predecessor, if we cling to evidence and discard imagination, must appear as before all things a political destroyer. Of the two Caesar had the task which was infinitely the easier, that of bringing a tottering and undermined fabric to the ground. It may well be doubted whether his temperament qualified him to be a great civil constructor. Even in the military sphere no great reform is

associated with his name. Augustus suffers in the estimation of the modern world from the fact that, as all history testifies, the work of destruction, swift and dramatic as it commonly is, dazzles the eyes of posterity, which have not the patience needed to follow the long, slow, prosaic labour of rebuilding. Our conception of the ability displayed by Augustus in his handling of Gaul cannot fail to be heightened by a brief study of two institutions which he planted there, institutions which were afterwards spread far and wide over the empire. These were the Imperial religious cult, and the provincial general assembly, the 'concilium provinciae' or 'commune provinciae.' It is true that these creations, in so far as they were called into existence by authority, were provincial rather than municipal. But they were sufficiently connected with the municipal system to deserve some consideration here.

With the general history, vast and important as it is, of the worship of the divinized dead emperors and the partial divinization of the living rulers, we are not concerned. This kind of cult was of immemorial antiquity in the Eastern world. In Egypt, as in the realms of Sumer and Accad, the living monarch was a living god. Alexander and his successors merely utilised for political ends a sentiment, ingrained in their subjects, which they could not have eradicated even if they had been minded to make the attempt. It was inevitable that when one monarch came to rule over East and West alike, the spirit of the Orient should in this respect infect the Occidental peoples. Certain elements in the Italic as in the Greek civilization readily coalesced with the Eastern forms, in which the worship of the living or dead ruler was invested. It was a memorable event in the history of the empire, when, on the first day of August in the year 12 B.C., the emperor's stepson Drusus consecrated at Lugudunum a colossal altar, dedicated to Roma and Augustus. The ceremony marked the completion of the reorganisation of Gaul, and the shrine served as a symbol of the unity of the three provinces, which were merely distinguished for reasons of administration. To officiate as high priest at this altar

became at once the goal of ambition for the greatest of the Gaulish nobles. The sons of chiefs who had fought with Vercingetorix against Caesar strove to attain the honour. It was only open to natives of Gaul, and to such of them as were placed in possession of the Roman citizenship. Many of these adopted the imperial name of Iulius. The first holder of the priesthood at Lugudunum was C. Iulius Vercundaridubnus, and he belonged appropriately to the oldest Gaulish allies of the Romans, the Aedui, their 'brothers.' The election was made annually at a great assembly of notables, drawn from all the three provinces. It is probable that each 'civitas' was entitled to send a definite small number of representatives. Some care must have been taken to prevent the honour of the priesthood from being monopolised by a few of the stronger clans. The recorded names of high priests belong to sixteen of the 'civitates.'

The great altar at Lugudunum bore on its front the titles of the sixty Gallic states, and round about it were sixty statues, personifications of these same communities. Such symbolic figures were of course familiar in the ancient world. On either side of the shrine stood great pillars, upholding gilded representations of Victory, each holding a wreath in its hand. In the sacred enclosure, as time went on, were to be seen many statues of priests with honorific inscriptions on the bases. The passion for the commemorative statue raged over the whole Roman world, and was a favourite theme for satire. According to the rule which affected most public functionaries in the imperial age, the tenant of the priesthood had to spend money on games and exhibitions of other kinds which were carried on at the time of the annual assembly. The lavish expenditure on such diversions often led to ruin and sometimes called for the interference of the government. The cult at the shrine of Roma and Augustus doubtless had a potent influence in weaning the nobles from the old Druidical rites. These had a powerful hold on Gaul when the Romans entered it, and though their political effect was to be dreaded, Augustus did no more than prohibit Roman citizens from

taking part in them. The Druids had held at another place an annual assembly not unlike that which was established at Lugudunum. The older ceremony now paled before the newer. The Emperor Claudius, who was born at Lugudunum, in the year 10 B.C., on the anniversary day of the consecration of the altar, was able to suppress or rather to drive underground, and deprive of power, the Druidical religion, on specious political rather than religious grounds. Dio Cassius describes the ritual of Lugudunum as still observed in his day, about the end of the first third of the third century. But there is reason to think that it became, after the time of Septimius Severus, less Roman and more Celtic in character. On the political side the importance of the ceremonies which were celebrated at the shrine of Roma and Augustus in attaching the Gaulish leaders to the imperial régime can hardly be overestimated. The goddess Roma, originally an invention of the Greeks, was a divinisation of that power which held the world in control, and participation in her worship was at the same time allegiance to those who wielded the power. This was the effect, all the empire over, of the introduction of the Imperial cult. In various forms, East and West, North and South, it took root, and constituted a real bond of union between the diverse races which lay beneath the sway of Rome. It affected provinces as such, towns as such, and every form of social organisation down to the family. The provincial altar for the cult became general. Augustus reared one among the Ubii, who had been transplanted by Agrippa from the right to the left bank of the Rhine in order to bar the passage of the river against their brethren on the opposite side; an early example of a policy which later conduced to the downfall of the Roman power. This altar was intended to be a centre for great Germanic provinces, which shrank to poor dimensions after the defeat of Varus. Similar creations elsewhere will come under our notice.

Important as was the new ritual at the altar of Lugudunum, yet 'emperor worship' did not spread in the three

Gaulish provinces or in Roman Germany as it did in most regions of the West. This is traceable to the comparative slowness in these parts of the progress towards Romanisation. We only hear of a separate altar, raised to Augustus, in one of the 'civitates,' that of the Lingones. This was consecrated by Drusus in 9 B.C. The local divinities with their uncouth names, or the supposed Latin equivalents, retained the affections of the common people almost unimpaired. But loyalty was generally exhibited by combining the worship of the emperor with that of a native god, sometimes to the extent of identifying the two. This was a familiar phenomenon from the earliest dawn of ancient civilisation, and it was imitated in Rome when, as Cicero relates, Caesar became the "temple-fellow" (*σύνναος*) of the god Quirinus. In Gaul Augustus and subsequent emperors might be identified with a greater divinity whose name is represented in Latin as 'Iuppiter Optimus Maximus,' or with a minor local divinity.

Connected as a rule with the central provincial altar was the secular meeting of notables, a kind of Durbar, for which the official name was 'concilium provinciae.' This institution became an important element in the imperial government. In one form or another it was ultimately extended to every province. In some of the conquered lands, particularly where Greeks were numerous, the Romans had found general assemblies with somewhat similar framework, which bore the name 'Koinon' (*Κοινὸν*), often rendered by the Latin 'commune.' Our information about these gatherings is imperfect. They seem sometimes to have had a solely religious purpose. In other cases, politics and religion were commingled in their *ratio existendi*. When Augustus set in Spain and Gaul the great precedents for the West, he followed Hellenic example, using wisely for his purpose no indigenous cult, but that new imperial worship which could without exciting jealousy be established in all lands. The assembled delegates met under the presidency of the high priest, who executed also, in some sense, the function of a secular

magistrate. Those men who had passed the chair would, as was the case in the Roman and local senates, form a class apart and exercise considerable influence. In this rudimentary Parliament all matters affecting the interests of the province could be discussed in the presence of the governor and other distinguished Romans. Grievances could be ventilated and proposals could be pressed on the government. At times an embassy would be appointed by the meeting to lay petitions before the monarch in person. The degree of freedom with which the 'concilium' could debate and act must naturally have varied from time to time and from province to province. Sometimes it showed a servility towards the governor which had to be checked. But Tacitus places in the mouth of the famous Roman Stoic and senator, Paetus Thrasea, a complaint that the provincials were often only too powerful, and could compel a governor to sue for their favour. He speaks bitterly of "provincial arrogance." In this connexion, an inscription found at Thorigny in France has great interest. An attempt was made to prosecute a governor for misconduct, but it was foiled in the 'concilium' by a delegate whose 'civitas' had sent him there with instructions to propose a laudatory resolution instead. We must not suppose that the 'concilium' took the same shape everywhere in the fully developed imperial system. The diverse origins of the Greek assemblies known by the name of 'Koinon' differentiated them from one another and from the 'concilia' which were created by Roman initiative in the newer provinces, especially the western, and these again were not all of the same pattern. But we cannot too strongly insist that in the mind of the great imperial founder there was a generous regard not only for municipal autonomy, but for as much of provincial autonomy as circumstances would allow. So far was the empire at its start from aiming at a hard centralised tyranny. The subject of the provincial assemblies cannot be fully treated without travelling too far from our proper theme. I will only note one or two other particulars. In each province, the regular municipalities of Greek or Roman or

Latin type would send representatives to the 'concilium,' which might also admit delegates from peoples not yet municipally organised, but not from the client princes of the empire, who were technically outside the limits of the province. Again, 'concilia' attached to smaller districts than the province existed in some parts. Thus there might be an assembly drawn from the 'conventus' or assize-circuit, which was a subdivision of the province. Finally, the history of the 'concilium' after the time of Diocletian, like the history of the province, differed widely from its history in the earlier stages of the empire.

One or two topics remain to be treated, before we turn away from Gaul. We have noted that no region was by the municipalising process brought nearer to the status of Italy than the Narbonensian province. In some respects the closeness of the connexion with Italy was officially recognised. In the reign of Claudius, Roman senators were allowed to visit their possessions there, as in Sicily, without that special permit from the emperor which was required in the case of the provinces generally. But in other ways the region was treated differently. In Italy sanction was not given by Augustus to the worship of his divinity (*numen Augusti*). But a long inscription still extant embodies the rules for this worship at an altar erected by the common people (*plebs*) at Narbo. And this province had its 'concilium' which met at this town.

At first one disability lay upon the Gaulish 'civitates' which was grievously felt. Their inhabitants, even after they had figured brilliantly at the altar of Lugudunum, and had become citizens, were not permitted to enter the Roman senate. They were thus at a disadvantage compared with the burgesses of Roman towns in the provinces. This mark of inferiority was removed in part by one who was himself born in Gaul, the emperor Claudius. We have an incomplete inscription, found at Lugudunum, which enshrined the emperor's speech, recommending the removal of the disqualification. We have also in the 'Annals' of Tacitus

a representation of the speech, and it is interesting, both on literary and historical grounds, to compare the two versions. The petition to which the emperor's oration was a reply had been presented by the Gaulish nobles generally. The answer was delivered in the presence of the Senate and of some of the claimants. The spirit of exclusiveness which had always existed at Rome and had always in the end been overborne, was manifested by the opponents of the request, and was once more overruled. Tacitus makes some senators talk spitefully of the northern Italians, the Insubres and the Veneti, who had been admitted to full Roman privileges, and they allude bitterly to the great siege of Alesia in Caesar's time, and even to the old tale of the capture of Rome by the Gauls. In his answer Claudius points out how the Roman state had been continuously enlarged by the admission of aliens, and how his own family had immigrated from the Sabine country. Then he refers to the many constitutional changes which Rome had seen, whereby political walls of separation had been cast down. He alludes to brilliant services rendered in the Senate by the Balbi from Spain, and by members from Vienna, the Romanised city of the Allobroges, and from Lugudunum. His argument bears a singular resemblance to one which was advanced by Philip V of Macedon and is recorded in an inscription which came to light not long ago. It is dated not long after the time when Philip concluded his famous alliance with Hannibal. The town of Larissa in Thessaly had agreed to give civic rights to strangers domiciled in it, and had then cancelled the agreement. Philip presses on it the more liberal practice of other commonwealths, including the Roman. The Romans, he says, had allowed manumitted slaves to enter their polity, and this had not only enabled them to enlarge the body of citizens at home, but to despatch colonists to nearly seventy places abroad. There can be no question that if Claudius had followed his own bent, he would have granted in full the request of the Gauls. He left the decision, however, to the Senate, and so the boon was only vouchsafed to the oldest

Roman allies in Gallia Comata, the Aedui. But what was yielded to them could not long be withheld from others. We have had another instance of the liberality of Claudius with regard to the extension of the citizenship, when we considered the case of the Anauni, in which he arbitrated. In the satire on the deification of Claudius after his death, which is attributed to Seneca, and is known as the 'Apokolokyntosis,' there is an amusing passage bearing on this subject. Mercury, the god who conducts the souls of the dead to the land below, finds Claudius in the torments of a lingering death. He takes Clotho, one of the Fates, aside, and reproaches her for her cruelty in not slitting at once the thread of life. Indeed, he says, the whole existence of Claudius has been a struggle with death. Clotho replies that she wishes to add a little to his term, in order that he may fulfil his heart's desire, and bestow the Roman citizenship on the few who are still without it, and may see before he dies all Greeks, Gauls, Spaniards and Britons attired in the toga. The passage is one of many bits of evidence which show that the spread of Roman citizenship was far more rapid than we are apt to imagine. Apart from the enfranchisement of municipalities, one by one, masses of scattered individuals passed within the Roman pale, not only by legitimate methods, but often, as we saw in the case of the Anauni, without any legal authorisation. Probably the practical effect of the too celebrated edict of Caracalla was far more restricted than could be guessed from the direct references to it in extant literature. By the avenue of military service, and by other recognised approaches, peregrins by the thousand were continually being admitted to burgess rights. And there was no effective organisation for repressing the illegitimate assumption of the Roman status. Enactments were indeed made for the purpose even by liberally minded rulers like Claudius, but they remained inoperative. When Claudius ordained that to assume a name of Roman pattern without a title to it should be punishable, he was obviously aiming at the unjustified arrogation of Roman citizenship along with the name. To carry into

effect such a regulation was clearly impossible; the necessary machinery would have been of vast extent, and to create it was far beyond the emperor's power. In his edict regarding the Anauni, as we have seen, Claudius himself sanctioned (*ex post facto*) the employment of Roman names without legitimate right. The Roman status in the 'three Gauls' was probably extended far more by the irregular methods of the Anauni than by the regular methods of the emperors. As to the gift of the Roman citizenship to whole 'civitates' we have little information. Some received it from Galba, one at least, that of the Lingones, from Otho, and apparently others from Hadrian.

# CHAPTER VIII

## GERMANY AND THE DANUBIAN PROVINCES

NEXT in our survey comes Roman Germany. So intricately interconnected, owing to the circumstances of their origin, were the Germanic and Gaulish provinces, that some 'civitates' which were represented at the altar of Lyons, the Helvetii for example and the Triboci in Alsace, and the Lingones, were within the jurisdiction of the governors of Germany. Before the year 17 A.D. the whole vast region from the Rhine to the Ocean was repeatedly in the hands of single administrators, Drusus, Tiberius and Germanicus, and later, for certain purposes, Belgica was often combined with the Germanic command. The two German provinces were Upper Germany (*Superior*) and Lower Germany (*Inferior*), and so obscure is the history of their administration that the existence of two separate administrative spheres has sometimes been denied by scholars. The designation 'provinces' for these districts is indeed misleading, and was intended so to be, at the time when their organisation was carried out. Under the inspiration of Augustus the Romans had fixed their hopes on an extension of Roman territory to the Elbe. For the abandonment of this scheme the crushing defeat which Arminius inflicted on Varus was the pretext, but it was not the cause. This lay in the military and financial burdens which the annexation would have involved. The empty and delusive vaunt that the whole land lying between the Ocean and the Elbe had been 'pacated,' as the Roman phrase has it, was

never effaced from the emperor's own record of his achievements, the 'Monumentum Ancyranum.' And the creation of two German 'provinces' carried on the deception. They covered not much more ground than was sufficient to afford comfortable room for a great army of occupation, for a long period composed of eight legions.

The region never became a land of Roman cities, nor was it organised after the fashion of Gaul. Not merely the walled town, but even the grouping of farmsteads together to form villages, was alien to the spirit of the German tribes. What Tacitus says of this peculiarity of the Germans is repeated in the fourth century by Ammianus. Their gods were not honoured in temples built with hands, but in the mysterious recesses of the forests. Just because the Germans did not lend themselves to the institution of the 'civitas' as it existed in Gaul, and lived in still more scattered fashion than the Celts, they presented less resistance to Italic influence than was encountered in Gaul. But this influence did not to any great extent avail itself here of the municipal idea. Still the experience of the Romans in the German districts which they held shows that the task of Romanising Germany up to the Elbe was not beyond them, had they been ready to make the sacrifices which an effective occupation of the country demanded. In that case the whole subsequent history of western Europe would have been changed ; for it has depended mainly on the interpenetration of Roman civilisation by Germanic elements which had been unaffected by the Roman sway. In so far as the Roman culture spread among Germans, its range was nearly confined to the tribes which were actually within the area of Roman administration. Even faithful allies, like the Batavians and Frisians, who supplied strong contingents to the imperial armies, hardly modified their tribal characteristics. They were to all intents and purposes independent, though they were supposed to be attached to the 'three Gauls' and were represented at the festival of Lugudunum. It has been often noted that for a long stretch of the right bank of the Rhine

a single private altar found near Mülheim is almost the only evidence of Roman habitation. Mommsen remarks on the strangeness of the circumstance and truly says that if special hindrances had not stood in the way the prosperity of Cologne under the Romans would have of itself carried Roman civilisation far and wide on the opposite bank. It may be added that the facts are the more surprising when we consider the inveterate habit of the Roman trader to traverse the barbarian lands and even to settle down in them. But the policy of the government was to hold the unsubdued Germans at bay, and to this end over a large part of the frontier a wide district was kept in the main clear of settlers, and the Roman civilisation could not easily propagate itself across this vacuum. The rough frontier defences, or rather frontier roads, fortified at intervals, to which the names 'limes' applies, are characteristic of the regions near the Rhine and Danube, and they interposed to intercourse strongly obstructive barriers.

Only one Roman municipal creation in Germany has had a great history in succeeding times. This is Cologne, whose name comes from the original title 'colonia Agrippinensis,' given to it when it was constituted in 50 B.C. at the instance of the younger Agrippina, the wife of her uncle, the emperor Claudius. Probably at first it received Latin rights only, but a little later it was entitled to call itself a Roman city. Elsewhere the great object of Roman government was so to multiply civic communities that wide areas could be emptied of troops. But Roman Germany was full of soldiers from first to last, and even the few towns which received Italian constitutions retained much of their military character. Trajan turned two great camps on the lower Rhine into civil communities, or rather established there civil institutions which coexisted with the military administration. These were at Noviomagus in the territory of the Batavians, which became 'colonia Ulpia Noviomagus' and at Castra Vetera (Xanten, not far from the present frontier of Germany and Holland) which was known as 'colonia Ulpia Traiana.' Not

till the third century did the great army centre of upper Germany, Mogontiacum (Mainz) take upon it a civic structure. Other places of importance, such as Argentoratum (Strassburg), remained under the military authorities to the end. In many parts of the empire the camp town entirely rid itself, as time went on, of the traces of its origin, but the frontiers continued to exhibit the type of settlement which is so amply illustrated in Roman Germany. We shall have no better opportunity than this of studying the semi-military, semi-civil communities which lay on the fringe of the great Roman municipal federation, and testify to the extraordinary pliability of Roman principles of government. Where the city community could not be fully constituted, the nearest approximation to it was adopted that circumstances allowed.

Round the great permanent camps on the frontiers, in which the army was almost entirely quartered in the earlier imperial centuries, there grew up by a natural process settlements which were often of considerable extent and importance. Their general designation is 'canabae,' a term common in inscriptions, though rare in literature. The more the Roman soldier was confined to the standing camp, and the more the military class tended to become a caste apart, with hereditary service, the more civilian in character did the 'canabae' become. The troops were not in the end required to live within the circuit of the camp, which became principally a place of exercise in arms. The 'canabae' took on them to an ever increasing extent the features of the town, even when the ordinary signs of a municipality, the senate and the magistracy, were not present. Recent research has shown that the legion, like the city, had its 'territorium' attached. Even in the first century, according to Tacitus, there were "vacant lands kept for the use of the legionaries." The poet Lucan places in the mouth of Caesar a speech to his men, in which he exhorts them to finish the civil war and so bring on the day when they will be released from service and will become 'coloni,' tillers of the soil. By the third century the Roman soldiers seem to have been to a great degree 'coloni,' even

during the term of their military career. The territory of the legion was imperial property, and for the allotments in it rents were paid to a financial officer. Thus the old principle that the soldier should have no other business than his soldiering was officially abandoned. The practice in this respect had never been quite in accordance with the theory, for there are many records which show that generals, even in Republican times, allowed their men in foreign lands to dabble freely in petty commerce. Under the Severi the Roman army was brought into the state which Alexander planned for his Greek mercenaries in Asia, exemplified also by the army of the Ptolemies in Egypt.

The passage of the 'canabae' into the town proper can be illustrated from a number of the provinces. The history of 'Castra Vetera' in lower Germany presents some points of interest. We have a statement of Tacitus to the effect that the 'canabae' there had in 68 A.D., by the operation of lasting peace, assumed almost the appearance of a 'municipium.' They were then destroyed for military reasons, but again a considerable settlement must have sprung up before Trajan established the place as a 'colonia.' Doubtless the 'canabae,' so long as the settlement had no municipal rights, consisted of booths or buildings easily removable or destroyable in case of war, and it seems to have been customary to leave a free space between the actual camp and the 'canabae.' In the Rhine region, some of the most important cantonments never passed into 'municipia' or 'coloniae'; such were Bonn (Bonna) and Strassburg (Argentoratum), as already mentioned. Yet the name Strassburg testifies to the Roman occupation. In the districts towards the Danube, the transformation affected a number of places. A camp at Siscia on the Save was established in the reign of Augustus as an extreme outpost of the Roman army. Later there was an advance, and Vespasian organised Siscia as a colony. Then Trajan carried out the same measure with Poetovio on the Drave, which had taken the place of Siscia in the military occupation. Here we have a typical example of the

supersession of the military by civil administration. Hadrian was able to bestow municipal or colonial rights on a number of military posts on the Danube itself, Aquincum (the modern Buda, which we combine with Pesth), Carnuntum, east of Vienna, and Vienna itself (Vindobona), the great capital of Austria-Hungary, which started its career as a Roman fortification. We shall come across many other examples of this sort of evolution in different countries. Sometimes, when the civil constitution was conferred, the legions were removed; sometimes the civil organisation existed side by side with the military. Here we may comment on the rudimentary constitution for civil affairs which was possessed by the 'canabae' before a regular municipality existed. It was the voluntary creation of the civil residents who were Roman citizens. No considerable body of Romans could dwell together in a foreign land without constructing some kind of social organisation. We have found that in the days before Italy was unified, Romans and other Italians banded themselves together in foreign parts for such self-government as was possible for them. The merchants and other civilian settlers who lived in the 'canabae' and the veteran soldiers there who had obtained their release from service were just in the same position as had been occupied by Italians in African cities, for example, in the time of Jugurtha. There were no recognised Italic municipal institutions, so they called into existence the best substitute for them that they could construct. A sort of senate was put together, which described itself by the commonest municipal title for that body, 'ordo.' Magistracies with varying names were also invented. In some places, as at Aquincum, these took the name of 'magistri,' which in its commonest application belongs to the organisations known as 'collegia.' In Durostorum, the modern Silistria on the Danube, there were aediles as well as 'magistri.' Sometimes the sense of civic unity was exhibited by the worship of a 'genius canabensium,' just as regular municipalities reverenced their 'genius.' And public buildings such as theatres, amphitheatres, porticoes, might exist in the 'canabae'

as in the city. The only reason why full municipal autonomy was not conferred on a number of these settlements is to be found in the necessity which might arise for making the military interest override the civil. Municipalisation meant full exemption from possible subservience to a soldier-chief.

The story of the 'canabae' closely resembles the story of the 'conventus civium Romanorum,' which we find in non-Roman cities all over the empire. The 'Italici,' of whom something was said earlier, formed a sort of 'conventus' in the towns where they lived; but the title 'Italici' was rendered obsolete by the enfranchisement of the Italian peninsula; and of course in the same way when any place was completely Romanised, the 'conventus' was absorbed into it. The only example of a 'conventus' in Italy is afforded by the one which existed at Capua before it was re-established by Caesar as a municipality. As it was the only important place in the peninsula not possessed of those institutions which marked the city commonwealth, the Romans there naturally banded themselves together as they would in a foreign town. A 'conventus civium Romanorum' might exist in a town with Latin rights, but instances are rare, and for this there is a reason. Roman rights and Latin rights were so similar from a local, as contrasted with an imperial point of view, that ordinarily a Roman citizen domiciled in a Latin town would be treated as a burgess, just as a Latin who by holding a magistracy in his town had become a Roman burgess, nevertheless remained a citizen of his place of origin.

The title 'consistentes' is often found in inscriptions as applicable to all the members of the 'conventus.' They are thus marked out as, theoretically, temporary residents, though many of them must have had generations of ancestors resident in the place. Another equivalent expression is 'negotiatores' or 'qui negotiantur'; and in Greek inscriptions *πραγματευόμενοι* or *ἐργαζόμενοι*. It is clear that the so-called 'conventus civium Romanorum' in Eastern lands came to contain many whose family language was not Latin but Greek. The legal position of these gatherings of burgesses, both in respect of

the communities to which they were attached, and in relation to the Roman government, will be best considered at a later stage, when we come to deal with the general internal organisation of the towns of the empire. Here one or two extraneous matters may be mentioned. In the overwhelming majority of instances, the 'conventus' is linked with a regular peregrin municipality. But here and there it covers a wider area. There was a body called 'conventus Helveticus,' which drew its members from the whole country of the Helvetii. But it must be remembered that the whole Helvetian people formed one 'civitas' in the Gaulish scheme; and in a land where there were so few towns, the 'civitas' was the best practical basis for the association of resident Romans. Not until Vespasian or Titus established Aventicum as a 'colonia' was there a city commonwealth proper in the Helvetian country. A 'conventus Helveticus' is more intelligible than one which extended to the whole of Aquitania, while another embraced the whole of the Lugdunensian province. Yet there were inside these provinces special 'conventus' for particular 'civitates.' We must suppose that in these two provinces the Romans formed a sort of 'concilium' of their own, somewhat like the Gaulish 'concilium' at Lugudunum. There was again an association of 'consistentes' for the whole of Raetia. Probably there were some separate associations within this province also, though memorials of them have not chanced to survive.

In times of trouble the 'conventus' were often treated as organic unities, like the city commonwealths, and were taxed or called upon for recruits. They were greatly harassed, for instance, by both sides during the civil war between Caesar and the Pompeians. Caesar records how Scipio, the Pompeian commander in Asia, laid heavy imposts on the separate 'conventus' and 'civitates.' He himself mulcted severely the Romans who helped this same Scipio to defend Utica against him. It was natural that strict conscription should be applied to resident Romans near a scene of conflict, particularly as many of them would be old soldiers. Caesar

repeatedly obtained important aid from this source, at Alexandria, and in places close to the field of operations which led up to the battle of Pharsalia. Before leaving this subject I may mention that the 'conventus' composed of 'consistentes' must not be confounded with the 'conventus iuridicus' in the provincial administration, to which we must revert at a later stage.

We pass now to the north-eastern frontier of the Empire. Augustus, who left a precept to his successors that the Roman empire was large enough and should not be extended, himself pushed forward its boundaries in greater measure than any other single Roman. In some of our handbooks of Roman Republican history the impression is conveyed that the possession of the ancient world was won by the battle of Pydna. If this idea had been presented to Augustus at the end of his reign it would have seemed to him that Pydna belonged to the infancy of Roman dominion. His work in the region which is our present subject did more to widen the Roman borders than his uncle's subjugation of Gaul. But because he was not, like his uncle, a military genius, he has received comparatively little credit for his achievement, and because his personality overshadowed that of his generals they too have received less than their due. Augustus saw that Italy was unsafe until not only the southern Alpine slopes were secured, but the mountains behind them and their northern descents as well. Further, he realised what subsequent history abundantly proved, that Italy is most vulnerable on the eastern side of the valley of the Po, where the passes place comparatively little obstruction in the way of an invader. For security it was necessary to advance the Roman posts in the direction of the Danube, and to push inland also from the north-eastern shores of the Adriatic. For the protection of the Greek civilisation in Europe, and to some extent on the Asiatic continent also, the control of all the Black Sea coast up to the mouth of the Danube and of the whole territory lying between this line and the Adriatic, was imperatively required. Augustus did not live to complete

this scheme of frontier defence, but he laid down its lines and piloted it through difficulties until the remainder of the task became easy for his successors. Until the days of the great barbarian invasions, the Roman power and the civilisation of the West were never menaced by perils so dire as those that beset them in the days of Augustus. Had the two great chiefs, Arminius and Maroboduus, been fast friends instead of bitter enemies, the fabric of Roman authority might easily have been shattered in the West, and if it had been reared again, would have been deeply affected both in East and West by the indelible consequences of disaster.

The new imperial province of Raetia was won by the brothers Tiberius and Drusus, in the year 15 B.C., as Horace sings in several odes of his fourth book. Its conquest was recorded on the 'Tropaeum Augusti' which has been already described. A striking feature of the contest was a naval victory on the Lake of Constance. A necessary accompaniment of the war was the construction of the first great road connecting the valley of the Po and the upper waters of the Danube, starting from Italy up the valley of the Adige and leading to Augusta Vindelicum, which we know as Augsburg. Its title undoubtedly records still the name of Augustus as its original founder. But its early history is somewhat obscure. It seems not to have been strictly a 'colonia,' though Tacitus gives it that title. Apparently it did not become notable until a generation or two after its creation as a Roman settlement. It is supposed by some not to have become a full 'municipium' till the second century. But it was always the chief place in the new province, and it owed the beginning of its great historical career to the Romans. No other town in this region reached any great eminence. Near the western edge of it Munatius Plancus, the founder of Lyons, had planted a colony at Basel, a seat of the Celtic Rauraci, whom Caesar had subdued along with the Helvetians. The place was regarded as belonging to Gaul, but was administratively connected with Roman Germany. About the time of the Raetian war Augustus must have increased it and

given it the name Augusta Rauracorum, of which there is a reminiscence still in the designation of a village near Basel, called Augst. The name Basel has a curious origin; it comes from Basilia, a Greek rendering of Augusta, and the town is already so denoted by Ammianus Marcellinus. The two principal tribes within the province of Raetia were the Raeti and the Vindelici or Vindelices, and the full title was 'provincia Raetia et Vindelicia et Vallis Poenina.' A small confederation of four 'civitates,' after the fashion of the Cottian, but without a single chief, was established in the 'Vallis Poenina,' the upper valley of the Rhone. The first part of the Roman name is reflected in that of the canton of Valais or Wallis. The confederation was so far civilised in the reign of Claudius as to receive Latin rights from him. But the Roman government took little interest in the Raetian province. The troops maintained there were not Roman legions with regular auxiliaries but contingents of allied forces, and the whole country was treated as a mere outpost of Italy. The troops did little to aid, as elsewhere, in civilising and municipalising the country, but were there merely to bar the road through the mountains to Italy against barbarian foes.

Far different was the treatment of the next new province to the eastward, Noricum, which included most of the districts of Austria where the language is now German. A king ruled there earlier, and aided Pompeius against Caesar. The Noricans were involved in the great rising of the Pannonians against Rome with which Tiberius had to contend on behalf of Augustus. As there is no mention of them on the monument of Turbia, it has been concluded that the annexation was effected peacefully. It is curious that Noricum was still officially known as 'the kingdom of Noricum,' when it was governed by an imperial procurator. For whatever reason, this land offered less resistance to the process of Romanisation than any of those which were brought into subjection by Augustus. It came to be regarded as an appendage to Italy, almost as much as Sicily or the Narbonensian province of Gaul. Like Raetia, it was occupied only by allied contingents,

but it soon supplied recruits freely to the legions and even to the *corps d'élite*, the Praetorian Cohorts. In all probability Roman and Latin speaking traders had penetrated deeply into the country and had formed important settlements there before it was annexed. The population was of very mixed origin and therefore more open to the influence of a foreign civilisation than a homogeneous people. Rudimentary Roman or Italic towns were early established on the ancient trade route from Aquileia over the Julian Alps to the Save. Such were Nauportus and Emona, on the river Laybach, a tributary of the Save. Both these sites had been occupied from prehistoric times. Emona, the more remote of the two from Italy, overshadowed the other in importance during the imperial age. Augustus established a colony there about 34 B.C., nearly twenty years before he entered into possession of Noricum as a whole. The municipality was based, probably, on an important 'conventus civium Romanorum' previously existent there. This establishment of a Roman civic community in a country which was not the property of Rome has parallels in history. Genoa (Genua) was for a time in the same position, as early as the age of the Second Punic War. The story of both these towns exemplifies the manner in which the Roman or Italic trader cleared the way for the Roman soldier. The rise of Emona to the status of a colony was connected with the reorganisation of Dalmatia, to which we shall come presently. About the end of the reign of Augustus Emona was strongly fortified, and parts of its defences are still in existence. But its commerce was also great, since important roads ran from it into the barbarian lands, and the traffic along the rivers, which were navigable for the small vessels, contributed to its prosperity. We may remark again that it is hard for us to realise, under our modern conditions, the immense significance in ancient history of the rivers, even many which seem to us of small account. To Rome, the passage of traffic up and down the Tiber had an importance which it is difficult for us to conceive. The rivers were often as vital in war as in commerce. In the campaigns on the Rhine and Danube

and Euphrates the flotillas on these streams played a leading part and the security of the provinces near depended largely upon them. During the Second Punic War the navigation of the Po enabled the Romans to keep their hold on Placentia and Cremona. Even the few navigable miles of the little river Aufidus influenced extraordinarily the fortunes of Hannibal in the neighbourhood. Not long ago in England even the smaller rivers had something of the same dignity. It is astonishing to remember that a special Navigation Act was passed by the English Parliament for the petty river Cam as late as 1813. Emona as a fortress was conspicuous at many points in history after its foundation as a colony in the Augustan age. It naturally suffered during the many great invasions of Italy from the East, both by pretenders to the Roman throne, and by barbarians.

In Noricum, as in Gaul, the chiefs were won over at the outset by the gift of the Roman citizenship. Soon a number of communities of the Italic type were organised, whose ancient condition is still attested by remains and inscriptions. But as few lay on historic military routes, they did not rise to great eminence like Emona. In the north of the province was Iuvavum, the Roman representative of Salzburg. Celeia was on a continuation of the great road from Aquileia to Emona, and Virunum, a colony, lay near the modern capital of Carinthia (Klagenfurt), by the river Drave, on which were several Roman places, higher up its course. There can be no doubt that this whole stretch of country was to a high degree Latinised, but the Latin influence has been submerged and obscured by successive new tides of population.

The province next to the east, Pannonia, was only secured after one of the most desperate struggles through which the Romans ever passed; and the same contest decided the fate of Dalmatia. The limits of Pannonia were for a long time not very definitely fixed. Emona was sometimes reckoned as belonging to Noricum, sometimes to Pannonia, and was regarded by Pliny the elder as situated within Italy. Celeia was first treated as Norican, then as Pannonian. Roughly

speaking, the province had for its northern and eastern boundary the Danube, from a point a little to the westward of Vienna, to the confluence of the Save with the main river at Belgrade. On the west it touched upon Noricum and upon Italy when southern Noricum came to be looked upon as Italian, while on the south it ranged with the Illyrian province. Many Roman municipalities arose in the great land of Pannonia, principally upon sites which had been inhabited from a high antiquity. Most of these towns passed through the military stage into the civil. The first point at which the Romans reached the Danube in this province was Carnuntum, to the eastward of Vienna. This place was first established as an advanced post of the army, in consequence of the great war in which Tiberius was commander. Vindobona (Vienna) made a similar start about the same time. For a while both stations were of secondary importance. In his first Dalmatian war, of which we have still to speak, Augustus built a fortress of great strength at Siscia (Sziszek) on the Save. Later an advance was made to Poetovio (Pettau) on the upper waters of the Drave. It is thought that only minor forces were stationed on the Danube itself before the reign of Vespasian, when the two settlements, Carnuntum and Vindobona, became the most important posts of the legions which guarded the great river barrier. The two occupied strategic points on the Danube where the ends of an arc of mountains touch the line of the stream. The fortunes of the two places have been widely different. The westernmost, Vindobona, has lived in the full light of history as Vienna, and has in after ages, as in the Roman, helped to break tides of barbarism which threatened to overwhelm the west. The easternmost, Carnuntum, is now represented by a village, where the lines of Roman fortifications can still be traced with remains of other appurtenances of a standing camp such as baths, aqueduct and amphitheatre. Here two roads of immense importance to trade from prehistoric times met each other, the one running east and west along the Danube, the other north and south, serving as a route along which the

amber from the Baltic passed down into Italy. Carnuntum was at first reckoned as part of Noricum, but its military importance caused it to be attached to Pannonia. The civil settlement outside the camp became a 'municipium' under Hadrian, who advanced many places in this region to full civic honours. Here Septimius Severus was proclaimed emperor, and gave the title of 'colonia' to the town. The barbarian invasions reduced it to desolation. Few traces of Roman antiquity linger about Vienna, just because it never lost importance like Carnuntum, although it suffered from Attila. Here Marcus Aurelius died. Under the Lombards Vindobona flourished, and its prosperity has been fairly continuous.

In Pannonia the number of more or less Romanised urban places was very considerable. Most of them attained to the dignity of 'municipia' or 'coloniae' by favour of the emperors from Vespasian to Hadrian, though some received colonial honours from Septimius. The mixed character of the population here, as in Noricum, composed of Celtic, Germanic, Illyrian and Thracian elements, assisted the process of Romanisation. In Latin the varied peoples would find a common means of communication. Still there is some mystery in the rapid abandonment of the native tongues here, as in other quarters of the Roman world, though medieval times afford some parallels, as in the case of the Normans in France. In the reign of Augustus, Siscia (Sziszek) was a prosperous town, important for commerce and war. Strabo describes the rivers of the region as all navigable, and bearing considerable traffic. There was a naval force on the Save. Remains of the Roman age are still numerous at Siscia. But more extensive are the relics of ancient Sirmium (Mitrovic), lower down on the same river. It was on the important military road which followed the course of the Save and reached the Danube at Singidunum (Belgrade), where a legion was quartered, in the later imperial time. Sirmium was the residency for a time of the admiral who commanded the naval forces on the Danube and the other rivers. Both Sirmium and Siscia were

prominent in the age of turmoil in the third century. Poetovio (Pettau) on the upper Drave has already been mentioned. From it great roads led in one direction through Celeia and Emona to Aquileia, in another to Aquincum (Buda) on the Danube, and in another along the course of the Drave to Mursa and the great river. Mursa (Eszek), not far from the junction of the two rivers, was the centre of government for lower Pannonia, after the province was divided. Here some great events in the history of the empire occurred. In 258 Gallienus, after defeating the Alamanni, overcame the pretender Postumus. The whole region far and wide was sorely injured by this contest. Nearly a century later also in 351 Constantius, the son of Constantine, secured here a victory over his nominal colleague, Magnentius, which was disastrous to the empire. Though it was won over forces largely German, the Germans reaped the profit of the victory, in the weakened resistance of the empire. In the struggle, Pannonia suffered cruelly; Siscia and Sirmium were both sacked by Magnentius. Northward on the Danube, apart from Vindobona and Carnuntum, one of the most considerable places was Aquincum, the modern Buda. Excavation has revealed the features here of the Roman standing camp, and of the 'canabae' which rose to the rank of 'municipium' and 'colonia'; with traces of the inevitable aqueduct and amphitheatre, and most interesting of all, a soldiers' shrine of Mithra, with inscriptions. The town was often an imperial residence. On the other side of the river were the redoubtable Iazyges, needing to be watched. In 294 A.D. a post was taken on the opposite shore (where Pesth is) and named 'Contra Aquincum.' On the other side of the rectangular bend of the river to the west lay Brigetio, from the time of Trajan a great legionary station, which has left many memorials of the Roman occupation behind. Here also was Mithras worshipped. Dangerous enemies, the Quadi, lay in front just across the river. As was the case with most military stations of the first rank, the commerce of Brigetio was not unimportant, judged by the testimony of inscriptions. One interesting

dedication is by a slave serving in the department of taxation, to "the genius of commerce and the merchants" (*genio commerci et negotiantum*). As a consequence of Trajan's attack on Dacia, Pannonia was divided into two provinces, the eastern section being called the 'lower' Pannonia (*inferior*) and the western the 'upper' (*superior*). Aquincum (Buda) was the capital of the lower province and Savaria of the upper. Savaria, about half way between Vindobona and Poetovio, was a flourishing place in Roman times, and its former state is attested by remains of structures proper to a 'colonia.' It boasted itself as the birthplace of St Martin (called 'of Tours'). At Aquincum and Savaria the imperial cult was carried on and provincial assemblies held. By the end of the second century, Pannonia had been in large measure transformed by the penetration of the Latin civilisation, the growth of commerce, and the improvement of communication by roads which traversed it in many directions. The organisation of this country and of Moesia seems to have been based on an ancient division of the land into sections which the Romans called 'regiones.' In the centuries from the third to the sixth barbarians again wrested from the Roman power the gains which had been here won from barbarism.

To the south-west and south of Pannonia lay Illyricum. In this region the population consisted mainly of the once widespread Illyrian race, which in Pannonia and still more in Noricum had been intermingled with Celtic and other tribes. The Celts made their way also into some parts of Illyricum. The Romans first entered this country in 228—227 B.C., when they crushed the power of the pirate queen Teuta. The light 'Liburnian' galleys were as much dreaded in that age as were those of the Sallee rovers in early modern Europe. Teuta controlled Greek cities to the south of the border of the later Macedonian province, Apollonia, Corcyra, Dyrrachium (earlier Epidamnus). These the Romans 'liberated,' though they maintained garrisons in them and commanded the service of ships for the repression of the pirates, whom the coast with

its countless islands has always harboured down to recent days, excepting when the Romans were strong enough to keep the police of the seas. In a second war Demetrius, an upstart prince who reigned in Pharos, was crushed (219 B.C.), and in 167, as a sequel to the Macedonian war, the last great Illyrian chief, Genthius, succumbed. His seat was Scodra, the modern Scutari, some little way inland, and a great fortress of his was Lissus, not far from Scodra and near the sea. The name of Genthius was said by some ancients to be commemorated in that of the flower called 'gentian.' The conquest of this prince, following on that of Perseus of Macedon, gave the Romans the control of the whole eastern coast of the Adriatic down to the Peloponnese. But when they attempted to pierce the inner country they entered on a desperate struggle which lasted for more than a century and a half. The contest reminds us of that with the tribes in the north-west of the Spanish peninsula; both were left to be finished by Augustus. Few years between the date of the battle of Pydna and the suppression of the Pannonian revolt by Tiberius were free from fighting with the strong tribe called Dalmatae, or Delmatae, from whom a Roman province was afterwards named. There was a long series of Roman triumphs, so-called, and a great succession of unquestionable disasters. The Dalmatae largely extended their dominion by conquest. Writing to Cicero, one of Caesar's generals, Vatinius says that they had only twenty towns (*oppida*) originally, but had acquired sixty others.

The whole land is rugged and the population was primitive and stubborn; so the process of Romanisation after subjugation was slow. Until the age of Caesar there was no effective occupation of the interior at any great distance from the coast; and there was, strictly speaking, no province, but only a protectorate. The first recognition of Illyricum as an ordinary province came in 59 B.C. when it was placed in Caesar's hands along with the Gauls, Cisalpine and Transalpine. Augustus thought the region to have been so thoroughly pacified by the war which ended in 34 B.C. that

in 27, when he divided the provinces with the senate, he parted with Illyricum. But the senate had to transfer it to him when the great Dalmatian-Pannonian rising took place. Then along with the organisation of Pannonia and Noricum, the province of Illyricum or, as it soon came to be officially called, Dalmatia, was defined. Its coastline ran from about Lissus, near the Macedonian border, to the Istrian peninsula. Inland its boundaries were somewhat arbitrarily drawn, with no great reference to geographical conditions.

Although Vatinius wrote of towns (*oppida*) in Dalmatia, the Romans found there few places which deserved the name, according to Italian or Greek ideas. Strabo speaks of "fifty settlements worth mentioning, of which certain were cities." The rudimentary character of the native civilisation is described by the same writer, who says that there was no current coinage and no private property in land. And the province was organised at first in a manner peculiar to itself. For the administration of justice, as was usual, assize-circuits (*conventus iuridici*) were marked out. But while in regions where the municipal system was highly developed, this 'conventus' had for its chief constituent element the city commonwealth, here the clans (*gentes*) were the factors, and each clan was divided into sections called 'decuriae.' The 'decuria' seems to have had some kind of self-government, and possessed its own treasury (*arca*). Later, this constitution was to some extent broken up by the creation of ordinary towns with their 'territoria.' The Flavian emperors accelerated the process in this province, as in some others. But few of the Italianised communities lay far from the coast. A very small number were on the farther side of the mountains which rise above the Adriatic. The places which were earliest reorganised had probably been strongly occupied by Roman traders for some generations. A few cities on or near the coast reached the grade of Roman colony. The greatest of these, Salonae, at about the middle point of the coastline of the province, may have received the title from Augustus. Like many other places on the north-eastern Adriatic shore, it had been

a Greek settlement before the Romans occupied it. A gateway, part of the walls and remains of an amphitheatre and aqueduct, are possibly of the Augustan age. Two additional lines of fortification owe their origin to perils of its later days, from the Marcomanni in the age of Marcus Aurelius, and from the Goths in the fourth and fifth centuries. The situation of Salonae made it a place of great strength, and it was enriched by inland and maritime trade. Dalmatia, owing to its rugged nature, was not so well endowed with roads as others of the newer provinces, but some of the most important had connexion with Salonae. It was once rich in Christian buildings, and of these some relics still remain. Salonae was for long the finest city on the eastern side of Europe, excepting Constantinople. Much of the destruction of its ancient monuments was the work, not of time, but of the Venetians in the seventeenth century. The greatest glory of Salonae came to it from Diocletian, himself a native of the town. He built hard by it his glorious palace-fortress, whose ruins bear the name of Spalato. It covered ten acres. The best preserved remnant is the emperor's mausoleum, which became the cathedral of a medieval settlement, founded by stragglers from Salonae, when it was destroyed by the Goths. The temples within the area were also turned to the uses of Christian worship.

Inland among the mountains lay Delminium, perhaps an old Greek settlement which had been, Strabo says, a great city, but had been made a small one by Scipio Nasica, who captured it in 155 B.C. after a long struggle. Whether it was continuously occupied by the Romans after that we cannot tell; but there was a 'municipium' here in the second century A.D. An inscription records how the "Novenses Delminenses Riditae" gave labour and money to repair a bridge over the river Hippus (Cetina). Here 'Novenses,' which in some places indicated the newer section of the citizens when there had been a second Roman settlement of a town, refers to the inhabitants of a small place called Novae. Some interest attaches to the Riditae. Mommsen judges from its inscriptions that,

though their community ranked as a 'municipium,' and had the appropriate framework of a municipality, it was not Italianised in any other respect. Such places existed in the East in large numbers, but were rare in the West. An example is the Greek city of Nikopolis, founded by Augustus to celebrate the victory of Actium. In the neighbourhood of Delminium more than one site has furnished indications that strong Roman forces were once quartered in the district.

To the south-east from Salonae along the coast was Epidaurum or Epitaurum, a place which has had a strange eventful history. Greek settlers had been there, as is shown by remains; but the place is not heard of in literature until 47 B.C. when, like most of the coast towns, as against the Illyrians generally, it sided with Caesar, and was rewarded by receiving a civic constitution as 'colonia.' In the reign of Tiberius it raised a monument, of which the inscription survives, in honour of the great roadmaker of the province, P. Cornelius Dolabella, who was governor. The favourable position of Epidaurum, on a peninsula, with two harbours, gave it a great trade, extending to the eastern Mediterranean. Two cave-shrines of Mithras have been here unearthed. The Goths seized it in the early sixth century and the Slavs at the end of the century, when the inhabitants established themselves at Ragusa, which had a splendid later career, and for a time almost rivalled Venice. The old place has now the name of Ragusa Vecchia and is a mere village. Farther on is Narona, on the river Naro or Narona. It was a 'colonia,' and the great north and south road, running to Dyrrachium, passed through it. In a somewhat similar position near the southern extremity of the province was Scodra (Scutari) the old capital of the Illyrian princes, Pleuratus and Genthius, a great military stronghold then and now. It is noticeable that when the Roman world was divided between Octavian and Antony, Scodra was the point at which their realms separated, and in the fourth century when the empire was in practice, if not in theory, split in two, Scodra marked the

boundary. Here the Latin civilisation and the Greek were thought to part.

Lissus, an old colony of Dionysius I., despot of Syracuse, was the last important place to the south of Dalmatia. We learn that its Roman inhabitants were numerous enough to aid Caesar materially in defending the town against the Pompeians; and it soon became a regular Roman colony. Its situation is like that of Narona, a few miles up a navigable river. To the north-west of Salonae, some way from the sea, but communicating with it by a lake and river, lay the old Illyrian town of Scardona, the centre of that one of the three Dalmatian 'conventus iuridici' to which the name 'Liburnia' was given. There are Roman remains there, but it is doubtful whether it ever had a Roman municipal constitution. Farther along the shore to the northward was Iader (Zara). It was a colony in the time of Augustus. An extant inscription records that, like Nemausus and Vienna in the Narbonensian province of Gaul, the town received its walls from the son of the deified Caesar. To the north of Iader lay Aenona, a Roman township, and possibly at an earlier date a Greek settlement. Farther north, for a long distance, the nature of the coast rendered the rise of important cities impossible.

On the great road from Salonae running into the interior was the military post of Burnum, established in the time of the great Pannonian war as a protection to the municipalities on the coast. Few of the stations of the Roman army in the newly won lands have greater interest than Burnum. The site has yielded great store of antiquities and inscriptions. The ruins are still popularly connected with the name of Trajan, a mighty one even yet over that part of the world, and are called 'archi Romani.' Remains of an aqueduct, arches and an amphitheatre are visible. Inscriptions record some work of the great governor P. Cornelius Dolabella. One interesting point is that after the legion was removed from the camp to a more advanced post, the site was the property of the imperial 'fiscus.' As early as 118 A.D. the 'canabae' had been elevated to the rank of 'municipium.' Another road stretched from

Salonae away to Servitium in Pannonia, on the river Save. A few miles inland lay a colony of some importance named Aequum. On a road which connected Burnum with Iader Asseria was situated. Interesting excavations have been made there. The place was apparently at first one of the few inland settlements planted by the Greeks in this region. An arch erected in honour of Trajan was discovered in the course of the exploration.

Some mention has been made of places along the Adriatic which had been colonised by the Greeks. At one time, looking at the Hellenic towns on both sides of the Adriatic, it might have seemed to be destined to become a Greek sea. But the Romans entered upon the Hellenic heritage. The earliest connexions formed by them on the eastern Adriatic were with Apollonia, Dyrrachium (Epidamnus) and Corcyra; but these places were reckoned as belonging to the Greek rather than to the Roman world. Even as Greek civilisation on this side of the Adriatic gave way to Roman, so the Romans have been supplanted by the Slavs. If the dwellers on the coast still speak an Italic dialect, that is due more to the later influence of Venice than to the earlier influence of Rome. Yet the Romanisation of the coastal districts was thorough. In the rugged interior its force was weakened. But the natives of the whole district supplied splendid material to the armies of the empire so long as it lasted. In the earlier days of the Roman occupation much use was made of the naval and piratical experience of the seamen on the coast. The light Liburnian vessels supplied the force for policing the Adriatic. In the last great naval contest of the ancient world, at Actium, they had a conspicuous *rôle* under the leadership of Agrippa. Taking into account the inhospitable character of the whole Illyrian or Dalmatic land, the work done by the Romans in it, even from the municipal point of view, seems remarkable. It only remains to be noted that we have no record of an 'ara Romae et Augusti' or a 'concilium' for the whole province, though they may well have existed. But these institutions certainly were established

in two out of the three assize-circuits (*conventus iuridici*) into which the country was divided.

We now pass to lands farther to the east. It is surprising to find that, so early as 75 B.C., a Roman governor of Macedonia carried a force to the banks of the Danube. But no permanent footing was obtained in the broad land known as Moesia till forty-six years later, when another governor of Macedonia, M. Licinius Crassus, a grandson of the Crassus who was in league with Caesar and Pompey, scored some victories over the Moesians. During the troubles in Pannonia and Dalmatia a few years later, the army in Moesia was able to send reinforcements to the scene of war. Addressing Augustus from his place of exile at Tomi in 9 A.D., Ovid speaks of that town as the northernmost on the Black Sea shore in Roman possession. The whole land there, he says, is the farthest "under the Ausonian sway, and it clings to the outer edge of your dominions." Probably the hold on Moesia was weak for a time, and the picture which Ovid draws of the incessant raids of barbarians across the Danube is not much exaggerated. In the early days of Roman occupation much of the country was left in the control of vassal princes. Tumult was constant, and before the reign of Augustus ended it was found necessary to push the offensive so far as to send a force across the Danube. The policy initiated by Agrippa on the Rhine was also followed, of transplanting masses of barbarians from the farther to the nearer bank, in the hope that they would keep the enemy on the other side at bay. At the beginning of his reign Tiberius took Macedonia and Achaia out of the hands of the senate and placed them with Moesia under one command, and true to his policy of keeping a good man, once found, in office, he allowed the commander to continue there for twenty-one years. Claudius established Moesia as a separate governorship in 44 A.D. when Achaia and Macedonia were given back to the Senate. In the reign of Domitian the province was divided, the western portion being 'upper Moesia' (*superior*) and the eastern 'lower Moesia' (*inferior*). The history of these

two provinces was too troubled by attacks from barbarians to allow the usual Roman development free course. The limits of the occupation were supposed to be defined by the line of the Danube, but the possession of the easternmost part was always more or less precarious. A barrier of strong construction ran from the Danube to the sea at Tomi. On the south the lower province was divided from Thrace by the Balkan range, while the southern border of the upper district separated it from Macedonia, and formed a line running eastward from the point at which the northern frontier of Macedonia and the eastern frontier of Dalmatia meet together. Along the length of the Danube a great military road was carried, and camps and fortifications, great and small, were created. The settlement of the army gave rise as ever to a corresponding civil settlement. The 'canabae' attached to the more important places blossomed into full municipal existence. Roman civilisation advanced along the right bank of the river, and gradually influenced the region to the south, but not very deeply, owing in part to the difficulty of communication, never mitigated to such an extent as it was farther to the west, by the laying out of roads. Singidunum (Belgrade), the westernmost of the great camps in Moesia, developed into a colony in the time of Hadrian. Such too, but at a much later date, was the fortune of Viminacium, situated not far east of the junction of the Danube with the Margus (Morava). From here a great road ascended the valley of the Morava and passed into Thrace, and by Philippopolis and Adrianopolis to Byzantium (Constantinople). Viminacium remained to the end among the greatest of Roman military stations. An important position was Ratiaria, made a colony by Trajan. Thence ran a road to join the route from Viminacium to Constantinople, at Naissus (Nisch), which again had communication with Macedonia.

In Moesia Inferior such towns as existed in the Roman age were either places which had sprung out of the military occupation, chiefly on the Danube, or were of Greek or semi-Greek origin, mainly on the coast of the Black Sea. There

were few 'municipia' and 'coloniae.' Oescus, not far from the junction of the Aluta with the Danube, was a colony of Trajan, and the starting-point of a highway leading to Philippopolis in Thrace, where it joined the great route from Viminacium to Constantinople. The three great army stations in lower Moesia on the line of the great river were Novae (Sistov), Durostorum (Silistria) and Troesmis, near the point where the Danube, after running from south to north, makes its final eastward turn. Silistria has continued to be a great fortress to the present day. The ancient ruins here are extensive and inscriptions have shown that 'canabae' of some extent arose. A curiosity is that they were named 'canabae Aeliae' after Hadrian. One inscription has been supposed to show that Durostorum developed into a 'colonia Aureliana.' It was at any rate an important place in the time of Justinian, and in the Middle Ages. Troesmis certainly became a municipality of some size and dignity, and was the seat of the provincial assembly and the provincial imperial cult for lower Moesia. Its site has yielded a number of interesting inscriptions and other antiquities. Inland, on a road which left the great highway from Oescus to Philippopolis and struck for the coast at Odessus (Varna), Trajan founded Nikopolis (Nikup). It lay in the valley of the Iatrus, a tributary of the Danube, and commemorated a victory won over the Dacians at the junction of the Iatrus with the Danube. Trajan gave it a Greek name, perhaps in imitation of the Nikopolis which Augustus created near the scene of the battle of Actium, and of a similar foundation of Pompey in Asia Minor. Both these towns were of Greek rather than Roman constitution. The same is true of Marcianopolis, west of Odessus, on the road to Nikopolis, which was named by Trajan after his sister Marciana. The hand of Trajan was felt all over the Danube provinces. He even asserted the right to protect Greek cities on the shores of the Black Sea far beyond the bounds of his dominions. Tyra, which took its name from the river now called the Dniester, had been declared part of Moesia by Nero. To Olbia the same

protection was extended. All the Hellenic settlements on this coast carried on, like Ovid's Tomi (Köstendjé), a ceaseless and pathetic struggle against barbarism, and strove hard to prevent the traces of Greek origin from being obliterated. Even in the Tauric Chersonese Heraclea was maintained in the status of a free city. The princes of the Crimea, so long as their rule lasted, acknowledged the Roman protectorate by placing the imperial effigy on their coins.

We must complete our survey of the Roman possessions in the region of the Danube by a brief reference to the latest acquisition there, practically the only Roman possession to the north of the river, excepting on its extreme upper waters, the province of Dacia. The Dacians, like the Getae, were a branch of the great Thracian stock. What is known of their social condition and beliefs marks them out as a specially interesting people, unlike in many respects the other barbarian inhabitants of Europe with whom the Romans had contended. They were old enemies of Rome and had often invaded the Macedonian province, and had attacked Pannonia and Moesia. A general of Domitian had penetrated their country, and Domitian himself visited the army there. The capital of Dacia, Sarmizegetusa, was threatened by him, but an attack by the Marcomanni forced the emperor to make peace. Trajan had therefore a long score to settle with the Dacians. Not all their land was annexed. The new province comprised the mountain country of the Siebenbürgen, and what is known as lesser Wallachia. The river Aluta was the eastern limit and its course was lined by fortresses. Round the whole province was carried a 'limes' of the imperial pattern. Trajan dealt with the inhabitants after the trenchant fashion of Augustus, which had been copied in Europe by no emperor since his time. The methods followed were those by which Raetia, Pannonia, Spain and other regions had been 'pacated' in the Augustan age. Great masses of the population were killed, sold into slavery, or transplanted. Their place was taken by new settlers, not only from Latinised lands like Dalmatia, but also from the East, as inscriptions show, even

from remote Palmyra. Apparently, even before the time of Trajan, Roman traders and farmers had to some extent made their way into the land. One town named Drobeta described itself as a 'Flavian' municipality. That is to say, its municipal rights were bestowed on it by Vespasian or one of his sons. If that be true, it was one of the rare specimens of the Roman town in a foreign land, beyond the bounds of the empire. It is said to be represented, with its theatre and amphitheatre, on the great column of Trajan in Rome. It is the place now called Turn-Severin, to the east of the Iron Gates of the Danube. Trajan constituted the Dacian capital Sarmizegetusa as a Roman city, and on its site have been found many memorials of its Roman age. Here stood the provincial 'ara Augusti' and here assembled the 'concilium' of the province. Another foundation with the same status was Tsierna, now Alt-Orsova on the Danube. It would appear that, in the century and a half after Trajan's conquest, Roman civic institutions spread in Dacia to a much greater extent than in Moesia. Some of the municipalities and colonies developed out of military stations. The valley of the river Marisus (Marosch) seems to have been well settled by Latin-speaking colonists. Here, to the north of Sarmizegetusa was Apulum (Karlsburg), first established as a great fortress by Trajan; then endowed with municipal and colonial rights by Marcus Aurelius, and with the 'ius Italicum' by Septimius Severus. Inscriptions and remains from Roman times, indicating all the ordinary appurtenances of a western city, have been found on the site in considerable quantity. Westward was Ampelum, a settlement whose cause of existence is to be found in gold mines at the spot.

The peace which was secured for the Danube provinces by Trajan lasted only about sixty years. From the time of Marcus Aurelius they were the scene of incessant conflicts with barbarian enemies. An inscription of Sarmizegetusa expresses the gratitude of the inhabitants to Marcus Aurelius for having delivered them from the peril of the Marcomanni. But other waves of barbarism successively dashed up against

this frontier land of the Roman civilisation. The defence of the Danube became of far more consequence to the empire than the defence of the Rhine. After Aurelius's time hardly any ground was left to the Romans to the north of the great river. Dacia was lost, but, by a characteristic Roman fiction, a new Dacia was created to the south of the Danube, and divided into two provinces. One of these had for its capital Serdica (previously reckoned as Thracian), of which extensive ruins are still to be seen near Sofia, the capital of Bulgaria; and for an important town Naissus (Nisch), the birthplace of Constantine the Great, on the highway which led from Ratiaria on the Danube to Lissus on the Adriatic. Both Serdica and Naissus are conspicuous in the late imperial history. It is curious that in Trajan's Dacia, where Roman authority endured for so brief a space, there should be inhabitants to-day whose speech contains a strong Latin element. But the boast of the Roumanians, that they are descended from Trajan's settlers, has little justification. South of Moesia lay lands which were influenced far more by the Greek municipalism than by the Roman, and we will speak of them when we come to consider the municipal organisation of the Greek side of the empire.

# CHAPTER IX

## BRITAIN AND SPAIN

THE Briton offered to the Roman arms and the Italian civilisation a stouter resistance than that of his kinsmen on the other side of the Channel. Even the rudiments of civic life which were present in Gaul seem to have been almost entirely absent in Britain. Probably the nuclei round which municipalities might develope were principally associations of Italic immigrants such as existed in many other lands before they were annexed to the Roman Empire. The expeditions of Caesar seemed to have made the Roman conquest of Britain a certainty of the immediate future, but it was not taken in hand till nearly a century had elapsed. Augustus prepared the minds of his contemporaries for the exploit, and his poets celebrated it in advance. When he was dying he warned his successor that the empire was already large enough. We learn, however, from Tacitus how Tiberius considered that he had received an injunction (*praeceptum*) from Augustus to bring Britain into subjection; yet he did nothing. The old tale is familiar, that Caligula marched a force to the shore of the Channel, gathered some shells, he called "the spoils of Britain," and retired. The conquest became the great glory of Claudius and was celebrated by the erection of arches and other monuments all over his dominions. Camulodunum (Colchester) was the first important camp in Britain and also the earliest Roman municipality. It was constituted as a colony of veteran soldiers almost at the time when the 'colonia Agrippinensis' (Cologne) attained that dignity (50 B.C.). A great altar was built at

Camulodunum in honour of Claudius and of the goddess Victory. It was doubtless meant to be as notable in the new province as the altar of Lugudunum was in Gaul, but it never reached such eminence. There was naturally a provincial 'concilium' in Britain as in other provinces, and it probably had its seat in Camulodunum; but little or nothing is known of it. An inscription of the year 212, found there, runs in the name of the 'provincia,' but Septimius Severus had by that time divided Britain into two provincial governments.

The materials for judging the extent to which the Romans were able to impress the forms of their own civic government on Britain are still scanty. The area of their authority, the regions which were held merely by military occupation, the boundaries within which their material civilisation prevailed, can be discerned. The land west of Exeter was not garrisoned by soldiers, though for detached purposes Romans made their way into it. The limit of military penetration to the north is to be found on the northward side of the Forth. But large regions to the south of it belonged to the army alone, excepting that a civil population often gathered round the military stations, as was everywhere the case, all the empire over. Apart from this, an effective occupation for the purpose of peaceful pursuits seems not to have existed much to the north of York, and hardly at all in Wales. To what extent were the Romans able to substitute for the native social structure, native law, and native religion, the institutions which they brought into the land? The answer is difficult. The most highly Romanised regions were in the south and south-east, and the intensity of the Romanisation diminished steadily in passing to the north. It would be easy to draw wrong conclusions from the extraordinary mass of scattered Roman or Romano-British relics found in the country, and particularly from the number of villas or country houses in some of the southern counties. A map of Somersetshire, for instance, or even Cambridgeshire, in which are marked the sites of Roman country-houses, is astonishing to one who sees it for the first time. It is not surprising that the historian

Seebohm should have made a valiant, but unsuccessful attempt to derive the English manor from the Roman villa. The exploration of Roman country houses in Britain leads to the conclusion that the process of Romanisation was carried out but slowly; for the vast majority of them seem to be no older than the middle of the third century. The great prosperity of Roman Britain seems to date from a time when internecine war, barbarian invasion, and the pressure of taxation, were driving vast regions elsewhere into hopeless ruin. Numerous as they are, these villas do not necessarily show that the Italic influence which they introduced was considerable in volume. The numbers of the Roman or Romanised settlers connected with them would not be great. Such country houses existed in large numbers in parts where the Italic stamp was nevertheless easily effaced; along the Rhine for instance, and even in some districts which were outside the technical bounds of the empire. The fact that there was a complete breach between the material civilisation of Britain in the pre-Roman and in the Roman age, is balanced by the fact that there was a similar breach when Roman control was withdrawn. The absence of Celtic inscriptions of the Roman period proves nothing. In many parts of the empire native languages flourished under the Romans, yet left few or no inscribed memorials behind them. Education was merely a Roman or pro-Roman fashion in the conquered lands, when a second conquest—that of Italic municipalism—was not carried through. If the native languages were not destroyed in northern Africa, where the municipal system achieved a great victory, there is little chance that Celtic was supplanted by Latin among the great mass of the British population, where towns were few and mostly weak, and in great part of late origin. Agricola induced 'the sons of the chiefs' (*principum filii*) to learn Latin, and in the train of their education came Roman luxury; but Tacitus says nothing to imply that Latin had made any great impression on the native peoples. Juvenal's talk about the rhetorician in Thule is itself a rhetorical flourish.

Britain was even a more town-less land than Gaul when

the Romans entered it. Caesar's statement is familiar: "the Britons give the name of town to a place which they have fortified with rampart and ditch." Even the small native centres such as were the meeting places of the Gallic 'civitates,' existed only among a few of the tribes. The one town of much importance was Londinium. In attempting to determine to what extent the Roman government was able to apply western municipal schemes to Britain, we are hampered by the narrowness of the evidence. It is quite possible and even probable that municipalism advanced further than might be conjectured from its memorials, poor in comparison with those in other provinces of the West, even in the three divisions of 'long haired Gaul.' The records of personal services rendered by the wealthy to their fellow-citizens, abundant in many regions of the Roman world, but rare in Gaul, are here almost absent. Sometimes a bit of external testimony gives information as to the status of a town. Yet a place may have been a Roman 'colonia,' without any inscription having been found on the site to tell of the munificence of any magistrate towards the community in which he held his honours. When the richness of the sources for the municipal history of northern Africa in Roman times is considered, the darkness which broods over that history in Britain can be appreciated.

From the camps often sprang civil settlements, as at Corstorpitum (Corbridge), now being excavated. Most of their inhabitants must have been drawn from Italian or Italianised immigrants. It is not likely that more than a small portion of the eighty thousand who perished on the Roman side in the insurrection headed by Boudicca, were of British descent. We have already spoken of Camulodunum, which was overwhelmed only a few years after it was established as a 'colonia.' The only other 'city,' in the Roman sense, which existed in the province at the time was Verulamium (St Albans) which lay on a great route, probably very ancient, passing from London to Chester. The traces of Roman occupation at St Albans are of course

visible to this day, but the place (a 'municipium' not a 'colonia') seems never to have possessed much importance. Probably both Camulodunum and Verulamium owed their early selection for municipal honours to the fact that they were the chief places in native principalities well affected to the invaders. The 'colonia' at Gloucester was founded in the reign of Nerva (96—98 A.D.). Its name was Glevum, which enters into the first part of the modern designation. Although on the site at the present day the lines of the two main intersecting ancient streets can be traced, and fragments of ancient walls and gates exist, and much miscellaneous material of the Roman age has come to light, no evidence of the colonial status of Gloucester has been discovered in the place itself. But a late ancient geographer calls it a 'colonia,' and at Bath an inscription has been found in which a man describes himself as senator (*decurio*) of the 'colonia Glevensis.' Lincoln (Lindum Colonia), as a colony, may have been of earlier date; it existed before the end of the first century. On the site was a native town. The northern gate of the Roman city still stands, with remains of the fortifications. The colonial settlement was not of the usual structure, having been extended at some time subsequent to the creation of the 'colonia,' which was prevented by the nature of the site from assuming the ordinary form. A later colony was Eburacum (York), probably founded in the second century. The new creation took the place of the ancient capital of the Brigantes, who gave the invaders much trouble. Although York was of immense importance to the Romans, we have little information as to its history in their time. Its municipal status is attested by inscriptions alone; yet not a single record of a magistrate has been unearthed there. No citizen of higher dignity than a 'sevir Augustalis' has left any memory behind him. In literature the only events connected with York which have survived are the death there of the emperor Septimius Severus in 211 and that of Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great, in 306. When Britain was divided into two provinces, York was the capital of

'Britannia superior'; and there may have been there a provincial council, and a provincial cult of the emperors. It has been conjectured that Deva (Chester) became a 'colonia' after having been merely a legionary camp; and that Regni (Chichester) developed into a 'municipium,' but there are no proofs. As regards Regni the conjecture rests on the existence in it of a workmen's gild (*collegium*) of the ordinary western type. But the indication is not cogent.

It is impossible to trace the limits of the 'territoria' of any of these Roman cities. In many cases, especially in Italy, the Christian bishoprics give indications of the extent of town domains. But the diocese of Lincoln, abnormally large in early days, must have covered a much greater amount of land than was ever attached to the ancient colony. It is natural to suppose that the 'territoria' were of considerable extent; but if we bear in mind Lugudunum and some other places, the conclusion seems far from certain. It has been suggested that the Roman cities each had attached to them an 'attributa regio,' according to the arrangement which was common in northern Italy, Spain and some other provinces, and so in each case they would be responsible for keeping in order a section of the untamed native people. There is, however, no evidence to support the supposition, natural as it is. The rulers may have found the system unsuitable to the circumstances of Britain.

A number of other towns existed, varying in size and importance, all Roman in their public use of Latin, and in their material civilisation. That some of these were municipalities of Italic type is quite possible, though it cannot be demonstrated. We have seen in the case of Gloucester how nearly the definite evidence of its colonial status was swept away by time. It has been supposed that the more important of these towns were cantonal centres, like the towns in Gaul which were the capitals of 'civitates,' coincident with the territories of clans. It is natural to think that the Romans would copy in Britain the method they adopted in dealing with the Gaulish clans. But again we are left without proof,

excepting in one instance, that of Venta Silurum, or Caerwent, in Monmouthshire, which has recently been excavated. An inscription of the third century describes the settlement as 'the commonwealth of the community of the Silures' (*res publica civitatis Silurum*). Latin is naturally in official use as in the 'civitates' of the continent. But it is not easy to believe that the population of this remote place renounced their Celtic tongue. A great legionary camp was maintained among the Silures, not many miles to the west of Caerwent, at Caerleon (Isca Silurum); but no indication of civil life, outside the camp-boundaries, has been discovered. The second part of the name (*leon*) is of course derived from *legio*. The clan of the Silures does not seem to have been deeply penetrated by the Roman spirit. The word 'civitas' occurs indeed on inscriptions connected with other clans, but in no manner to warrant definite deductions. To some extent, native protectorates under client-princes were maintained during the Roman domination; but here again we are insufficiently informed.

Whether the majority of the towns of whose status we are not instructed were the centres of 'civitates' of the Gallic or Spanish or African kind, or were 'municipia' or 'coloniae' cannot be determined. High authorities may be quoted for either view. It is curious that what was the greatest and most important community all through the Roman occupation, Londinium, seems not to have been recognised as a municipality until the age when local freedom had become merely a name. In the time of Claudius, as Tacitus tells us, it was a place "not distinguished by the colonial title, but particularly famed for the number of its merchants and the extent of its commerce." Along with Camulodunum and Verulamium it was sacked by the allies of Boudicca. But it rose to prosperity again. When the great Theodosius made the last serious effort to protect Roman Britain from the outer barbarians, he took London as his base. The numerous roads, many of them older than the Roman age, which radiated from London, attest its consequence. Many traders from Italy and from

Romanised parts of the empire must have established themselves there, even before the Roman conquest. Such a population had in numerous places in other provinces suggested to the government the bestowal of full municipal privileges. The treatment of London by the Romans is an unexplained anomaly. The historian Ammianus, late in the fourth century, gives the name of the city as 'Augusta,' and refers to the old name in such a way as to show that it had been exchanged for the new only in days then recent.

Some of the settlements whose standing in relation to the government cannot be determined, seem to have attained a considerable degree of material development on Roman lines. The basilica, the temple, the bath and other items of western civilisation are in evidence. The best known town of the Roman period in Britain is Calleva (Silchester) in the north of Hampshire. Few ancient sites have been more thoroughly explored. It lay at the point of intersection of two important roads. One came from the station of Clausentum, close to Southampton, and passed through Venta Belgarum (Winchester) on the way. The other came from London and went on to Durocornovium (Cirencester), Glevum (Gloucester) and Isca Silurum (Caerleon). The whole result of the excavations at Silchester points to a community enjoying considerable prosperity and importance. But its public buildings show little of the stateliness which characterised those possessed by many a technically Roman, but only semi-Romanised urban commonwealth in other parts of the empire. We hear much of the wealth of Britain in the later Roman age. But little of it was directed into the channels of public munificence as in other parts of the world.

The long, slow, laborious conquest of Spain placed a severe strain on the resources of the Roman Republic, and its completion was the severest task of Augustus during the early years of his ascendency. The turbulent mountain populations were most relentlessly treated, being partly massacred, partly enslaved, and partly transplanted to the plains. But even then a strong army, consisting of three

legions, had to be maintained in the north. Mommsen remarks that Spain is the only country, not bordering on foreign land, in which the Romans maintained a section of the regular army. The Latin language and the Roman municipal forms of government first rooted themselves in the south of the peninsula. The great towns on the coast, like New Carthage, an important seat of government, and Gades, from of old one of the greatest centres of Mediterranean trade, and other considerable places like Corduba, must early have attracted a large number of Latin-speaking settlers. Many veterans of the Roman army made their homes in Spain from the time when the first conquests were made. The story of Carteia (near Gibraltar), the first community outside the Italian peninsula to receive Italian rights, has already been told. From Strabo we learn that in his time the toga and the Latin tongue prevailed in the southern portion of Spain. The extent to which Romanisation of this region had been carried even before the dictatorship of Caesar and the principate of Augustus, is illustrated by the history of Corduba (Cordova) on the river Baetis (Guadalquivir). Strabo actually speaks of a 'colony' (*ἀποικία*) having been established there by M. Claudius Marcellus, the grandson of the conqueror of Syracuse, near the middle of the second century B.C. The settlers were "Romans and chosen men from among the natives." Strabo, however, like Polybius, is often loose in his dealings with technical Latin terms, and Corduba was certainly not then constituted as a 'colonia' in the proper sense or even as a 'municipium.' But Latin became the language of at least its educated inhabitants. In his speech for the poet Archias, delivered in 62 B.C., Cicero talks of the native poets of Cordova, who have "a fat and a foreign smack" (*pingue ac peregrinum sonantibus*). The bitterness of the gibe might easily escape notice; it lies in the fact that Corduba was a great centre of the olive-oil trade. The oil had imparted a twang to the local output of verse. A Corduban poet passed off some of Martial's lines as his own. In his complaint Martial calls Corduba "richer than greasy Venafrum" (*uncto*

*laetior Venafro*). The city was quite ready to receive municipal honours at the outset of the imperial *régime*. The same may be said of Gades (Cadiz). Long before the Roman age, it must have gathered together traders from every land bordering on the Mediterranean, and so became a cosmopolitan city. Originally Punic, it has left very few traces of its Punic origin, and such as there are belong to the fifth century. From 206 onwards, it was a free ally of Rome. It is interesting to learn from Cicero that Caesar, during his propraetorship, gave it a new code of municipal law (doubtless approximating to the Italic style) and extirpated from the manners of the community "a certain ingrained barbarity" (*inveteratam quandam barbariem*). Immediately after his victory in 49 B.C. over Varro, the lieutenant of Pompey, Caesar gave the city a Roman municipal constitution, revising, as we must suppose, the statutes which he had drawn up earlier. There is reason to believe that the municipal estate of Gades was of considerable extent. But the Roman town went out of existence in the fourth century. The place was refounded by the Moors.

From the time of Caesar to the end of his successor's reign the evolution of the municipal system in Spain went on with remarkable rapidity. There are few places there to-day of any great importance which were not either new Roman foundations, or pre-Roman towns which in that age received an Italic constitution. The reign of Vespasian saw the practical completion of the process. Municipalisation must have far outrun the progress made by Latin culture. One cannot help suspecting that in the first century there must have been many citizens of Roman or Latin status who would have suffered degradation if they had been treated as Claudius once treated a full Roman burgess, whom he deprived of his privilege for inability to speak Latin. But the action of the emperor was only a specimen of his pedantic antiquarianism. The test, if generally applied, would have been fatal to thousands of burgesses in his own day, and two centuries later it would have left but few citizens on the eastern side of the Roman dominions.

Julius Caesar is known to have founded or reconstituted several other towns in Spain besides Gades, but the extent of his activity there is difficult to determine, since the exact date of some colonial and municipal establishments, Roman and Latin, is doubtful. In Corduba the change to the colonial status came about in Caesar's day, but how, is not clear. It is interesting to note that even before then, the Roman citizens in the place, who formed a 'conventus,' used the title of colony, for they named their local militia the 'colonial cohorts,' as Caesar tells us. The town was held for some time by Sextus Pompeius against Caesar and may have been made a colony by him. Caesar and Augustus may both have confirmed the privilege, and sent fresh settlers. The city now called itself 'Corduba Patricia,' from which we gather that Romans proud of their old descent had established themselves there in some numbers. No doubt Hispalis (Seville) lower down on the Guadalquivir received the colonial constitution from Caesar. It has been thought that two communities were established here side by side; one a veteran colony of the usual type, another a 'municipium,' springing from the 'conventus' of resident Romans. Seville had a continuously great career under Romans, Vandals, and Goths. But for more than one reason, the most interesting of Caesar's foundations to the modern scholar is the colony at Urso (Osuña), a native mountain town to the south-east of Seville and to the north-west of Malaga, and about equidistant from both. The official title of the new civic commonwealth was 'Colonia Genetiva Iulia Urbanorum.' The word 'Urbanorum' indicates that the populace of the capital supplied the settlers; and in 'Genetiva' we have a reference to 'Venus Genetrix,' the great protecting divinity of the Julian family. Mark Antony received the commission from Caesar to settle the constitution of the colony. Considerable portions of the statute which he laid down have been recovered in our time, but the inscription as we have it is perhaps a century or more later in date than the foundation, and some changes had been made in the meantime. Numerous matters of interest which the 'lex

coloniae Genetivae' contains, will come before us later; but here may be mentioned the notable permission given to men who had themselves been in slavery, to hold magistracies and honours. This regulation was confined to a few colonies, all founded by Caesar. Augustus returned to the older Italic practice, whereby disabilities attached to the man who had been a slave, though his freeborn son was exempt from them. What other municipal changes in Spain were carried out by Caesar is uncertain. Possibly two colonies, not far distant from Seville and Osuña, were of his creation; but their fanciful names 'Claritas Iulia' and 'Virtus Iulia,' which like others in the peninsula recall some that we encountered in Italy, indicate rather that Augustus established them and devised their titles in order to do honour to his adoptive father. It cannot be definitely determined whether Caesar bestowed municipal government on any places to the north of the region of the Guadalquivir.

In any case Caesar only touched the local government of Spain here and there, while Augustus reconstructed it, leaving his mark on every district of the peninsula. The division into three provinces, which lasted for nearly three centuries, appears to have been his work. The southern and smallest section, Baetica, named from the great river, was peaceful enough to be handed over to the senate, with no legionary force stationed in it. Its capital was Corduba. It extended from the mouth of the river Anas (Guadiana) on the west to Nova Carthago on the east, and the Sierra Morena (Saltus Castulonensis) formed a large part of the northern boundary. The second province, Lusitania, was a strip with a coast line stretching from the mouth of the Anas to that of the Durius (Douro). The whole of the rest of the peninsula belonged to the 'provincia Tarraconensis' which was greatly more extensive than the other two taken together.

Augustus made a long stay at Tarraco in the years 26 and 25 B.C. That city, said to have been once colonised from Massilia, had been an important Roman station from the time of the first invasion by the Scipios. It had, however,

been second to Nova Carthago, but now was given precedence. Both these cities became Roman colonies, but whether this was the act of Caesar or of Augustus is not clear. The full title of Tarraco became 'Colonia Iulia Victrix Triumphalis.' Evidently veterans were settled there either after the great triumph of Caesar or after the 'crowning mercy' vouchsafed to Augustus at Actium. The great natural advantages of the site, on a hill rising abruptly from the sea to a height of five hundred feet, with two natural havens, gave it an important *rôle* in history. The Roman fortifications rested on old Iberian foundations. The new city was greatly favoured by Augustus, and honoured him elaborately. Here, in a simple form, was initiated the great policy which was developed and more brilliantly exemplified a little later at Lugudunum. An altar in honour of Augustus was erected which became a rallying point for the notables of the province, and the centre for the 'concilium' or general assembly of the province. The choice of an altar here, as at Lugudunum and Narbo, rather than a temple, is significant. The altar (*ara*) carried with it far less of divinisation than the temple. For example when it was found that Augustus, by his will, had adopted the empress Livia as his daughter, an 'ara' in honour of the adoption was erected by the Senate. The temple dedicated to Augustus came after his death and deification; and Tacitus remarks that the permission given to rear it served as a precedent for every province. It is worthy of note that although Caesar had been deified, no attempt had been made to plant any cult of him in the provinces of the empire. The people of Tarraco went beyond the official limits when, on their coinage, they designated Augustus as 'deus,' and not merely 'divus.' Some of these coins may even have been struck during his lifetime. A quaint story of the altar is told by Quintilian. It was reported to Augustus that a laurel tree had grown out of its stones. He remarked that this showed how rarely fire was kindled on the altar by worshippers. A poem is preserved in the Greek Anthology, whose theme is this miracle. We do not learn from the

literary sources that when the 'ara' was established at Tarraco, the goddess Roma was associated with the emperor, as at Lugudunum and elsewhere. But inscriptions show that it was so. At Tarraco, as in Gaul, care was taken that the honours of the priesthood should not be monopolised by a few of the greater communities. We have records of about forty commonwealths in the Tarraconensian province whose representatives enjoyed the title 'flamen provinciae' or 'flamen Romae et Augusti' or the like.

Among other towns of the northern province, it is probable that Emporiae (Ampurias), a very ancient place on the coast, built on an outlying spur of the Pyrenees, received its municipal privileges from Augustus, though an earlier date has sometimes been assumed, in reliance on coins. The history of this city is interesting. Two towns, an Iberian town and a Greek, an offshoot from Massilia, existed here side by side, and it is supposed that the curious plural name Emporiae (literally 'the marts') is explicable by this fact. Not far away lies the modern Barcelona, whose most ancient name was Barcino, though the modern form made its appearance before the end of the Roman period. This became a colony with the resonant parade title 'Faventia Iulia Augusta Pia.' Possibly there were here two foundations, the earlier one being due to Caesar. The position of Barcino on the great road running past the Pyrenees to Tarraco gave it prosperity, which rose high in the time of Trajan, and it was still a place of importance under the Visigoths. To the south, the old allied Spanish city of Saguntum received a Roman constitution and enjoyed a considerable trade. But its chief value to the Romans had been secured when annalists embroidered its earlier history with fictions, in order to present Hannibal as a breaker of treaties. The place now bears the significant title of Murviedro. Inland, on the Ebro, Augustus created, on the site of an old Iberian place called Salduba, a colony whose title, Caesaraugusta, is hardly concealed by its modern name Saragossa. Although it was the centre of a 'conventus iuridicus' or assize-circuit, it was not prominent among cities

in Roman times, but attained celebrity as the capital of the kingdom of Aragon.

The most turbulent district of Spain had always been the mountainous region in the north-west, and here the largest part of the army of occupation was maintained. But after the stern methods of the Augustan conquest had done their work, a vigorous and successful attempt was made to break the strength of barbarism by peaceful means. The district belonged technically to the Tarraconensian province, but some sort of separate administration was for a long time necessary. In the country of the doughty Astures, who have given their name to the modern province of Asturias, an important Roman centre was created, to take the place of an ancient native town. It was named Asturica Augusta, and lay on the river Astura, a tributary of the Durius (Douro). Nowhere have Roman walls and gates and towers been more perfectly preserved than at Astorga, as the place is now designated. Here, in a land where Roman authority had only just been securely established, arose what Pliny calls a magnificent Roman city. A title of the chief magistrates (*magistri*) seems to indicate that, at first, the town was organised on native rather than on Roman lines. The clans on the mountain slopes near it were tamed, and the inhabitants were denoted as 'Augustani.' To the north were the less advanced tribes called 'men beyond the mountains' (*transmontani*). Even in their land some remains of the Roman culture have survived to our day; but the progress here of civilisation must have been slow. Westward of the Astures dwelt the Callaeci, occupying the extreme north-western angle of the peninsula. Their territory was bounded on the south by the Douro. The country's ancient denomination, Callaecia, has given rise to the modern 'Galicia.' The people had maintained a bitter struggle for more than a century and a half with the invading power. Among the Bracari, a branch of the Callaeci, the town of Bracaraugusta was established. New roads connected it with Asturica Augusta and Olisipo in Lusitania. In Spain,

more than any other part of their dominions, road-making was the chief instrument in the hands of the Romans for quelling and taming the savage peoples. On the coast to the west of the Astures Transmontani, were the Cantabri, the last nation in Spain to be subdued. They maintained the struggle for years after Augustus had departed from the country. Horace sings how "the Cantabrian was laid low by the valour of Agrippa." In this region a town, probably at first of native constitution rather than Roman, named Iuliobriga, was founded. It occupied a strong position, almost at the source of the river Ebro.

Although the activity of Augustus is most discernible in the Tarraconensian province, his hand was felt in every region of the peninsula outside its limits. Space will only permit me to adduce a few illustrations. Some of his new settlements were great standing camps as well as civic communities. One of these was Augusta Emerita, whose name proclaims it as an old soldiers' commonwealth. Two legions joined in the foundation. Both of them are familiar to the readers of Caesar's 'Gallic War.' One is the celebrated Tenth; the other the equally famous Fifth, the 'Alaudae,' organised in Gaul by Caesar. The town was situated on the river Anas (Guadiana) and is represented still by a small place named Mérida, from a rustic ancient pronunciation, Merita, for Emerita, just as 'Spania' for 'Hispania' appears in late Latin inscriptions. The territory assigned to the new community was abnormally large, and the allotments of land to the colonists extraordinarily liberal. Augusta Emerita was the capital of Lusitania, the centre for its provincial worship of Roma and Augustus, and the meeting place of its council. The altar and temple appear on its coins. The inscriptions do not testify to great activity in municipal life; but this is characteristic of a number of colonies where, by stress of circumstances, the military spirit was maintained. At the outset, the inhabitants must have been responsible for the peace of a wide and wild domain, open to invasion from wilder regions beyond, and actual guerilla warfare must have been frequent. A number

of other colonies were established in this region. One that deserves mention for its name is 'Pax Iulia' or 'Pax Augusta,' in the southern part of the province, to the west of the river Anas. It is a familiar fact that Augustus loved far more to pose as a prince of peace, than as a lord of war. But it is curious that in his reign the cult of the goddess Pax was prevalent in the army, so that military colonists here enrolled her name in the official title of the new settlement. In Lusitania, Olisipo (Lisbon) became a flourishing Roman 'municipium' with the denomination of 'Felicitas Iulia.'

In the 'Natural History' of the elder Pliny we have recorded the results of an imperial survey made by order of Augustus. This record brings out clearly the magnitude of the work achieved by the emperor in the Spanish peninsula. In the Tarraconensian province there are reckoned 293 'civitates.' This term here includes communities of every class which were recognised by the Romans as distinct units of local government, with some kind of autonomy. But Pliny indicates that there were 'civitates' which were not in any great degree independent; they were attached to others and mainly subject to their government. Unfortunately the number of these attached communities is not given. Among the 293 'civitates' mentioned above are 179 towns (*oppida*). These comprise twelve Roman colonies, thirteen 'municipia' with full Roman privileges; eighteen towns inhabited by "old Latins," that is to say, Latins who acquired their rights before Vespasian's time; one commonwealth allied with Rome by treaty; and 135 places subject to tribute. This leaves 114 'civitates' which were without a town, or perhaps without a town of sufficient importance to be considered. It is an indication of the advanced civilisation of the Baetic province in the south that the enumeration is not by 'civitates' but by towns only. Of these there are 175, eight (or nine) being colonies; ten 'municipia' with Roman rights and 28 with Latin rights; six 'free cities'; three 'federated' cities and 120 tribute-paying towns. When Pliny comes to Lusitania, he takes account only of 'populi,' but he

uses this word as he did 'civitates' earlier. There are forty-six, including five colonies, one 'municipium' (Olisipo), three Latin towns and thirty-six tributary. The summation of these statements leads to the conclusion that before the reign of Augustus ended there were in Spain twenty-five Roman colonies, mostly of military origin, twenty-four 'municipia,' forty-nine Latin towns, and nearly 200 communities which were 'stipendiary.' In the 'provincia Tarraconensis,' as we have seen, 114 units were non-urban in their character, and in the other two provinces there must have been a good many such units, though Pliny does not distinguish them from the rest. The communities enumerated for all Spain amount to 504. It may be noted as a curiosity that Pliny, in naming Spanish places, does not quote some whose designation was not "easy to pronounce," and he several times shows distress at the barbarity of Spanish designations. He is so loose in his methods of reference that it is not easy to draw definite conclusions from his words. But although in speaking of Roman and Latin communities he sometimes gives the old ethnic names and not town names, it can hardly be an accident that among the tribute-paying communities in Baetica we find none but urban denotations, while in the other two provinces the names of the tribute-paying places are national and not urban. This indicates a much more advanced condition of municipal development in the south than elsewhere. But even the tribute-paying units must, from Pliny's description, have been in some degree independent in their internal government. Also the 114 town-less districts in the Tarraconensian province must have mostly possessed some sort of communal autonomy. Pliny's words seem to indicate that 'attributae civitates,' districts whose inhabitants were subjected to the rule of urban places, were found even in Baetica. If so, they must have existed in much larger numbers in the less advanced provinces. This method of providing for the peace and administration of the ruder populations, could not fail to be extensively employed by the Romans in Spain. But the sources of information are very

deficient. The statute of Caesar's colony at Urso mentions such subjects of the town, and speaks of 'townsmen' (*municipes*) who were not citizens (*cives*). They are distinct from the 'incolae,' presumably Romans or Latins whose permanent domicile was elsewhere. The 'municipes' are possibly natives of the outlying subject district who had come to reside within the walls. The magistrates of Urso had the right to call on the outsiders to assist in the defence of the town, and no doubt exercised complete authority over them in all matters of public administration. The proper name for the people who are subjected, as we have seen when dealing with Brixia, Tergeste and other places in northern Italy, is 'attributi.' But in the statutes of Urso, and in Pliny, 'contributi' seems to be used in a similar sense, though elsewhere it is applied to a community amalgamated with another so as to form a single uniform municipal organisation.

The widespread reference to Augustus and to his uncle in the titles of Spanish towns is testimony to the extraordinary extent of the reorganisation of the peninsula in the latter half of the first century B.C. In Gaul, as we saw, some town-titles were compounded of the name Augustus with a native element. Augustodunum is a notable example, but there are many parallels, such as Augustonemetum (Clermont) and Caesaromagus (Beauvais). So in Spain Iuliobriga, Augustobriga and many like names occur. In the Latin titles of Spanish towns, there is frequent reference to the virtues of the new imperial rulers and of their *régime*; thus we have commemorated 'the Julian generosity' (Liberalitas Iulia = Olisipo), the 'Julian Peace' (Pax Iulia), and also the 'Fame,' the 'Concord,' the 'Firmness' (Constantia) of the Julii appear. Labels of the kind were of course attached to places all over the empire, but they were particularly beloved in Spain. The coins and inscriptions of Spain also assign great prominence to Agrippa, the general who completed its conquest. Down to the time when the elder Pliny wrote of Spain (giving belated information), its organisation remained much as it was left by Augustus. Few places had meantime been raised to a higher status.

The reason which Mommsen assigns for this arrested development is the true one. Spain was a magnificent recruiting ground for the Roman armies; and the wider the area over which the citizenship was spread, the more serious became the difficulty of filling the ranks. A noteworthy step in advance was made in the time of Vespasian. That great emperor had served in almost every part of the Roman world excepting Spain. But to no other region of his dominions did he show more favour. He bestowed Latin citizenship on all the communities in Spain which did not already possess it or the fuller franchise. Pliny puts the matter as though the boon was given to console the Spanish peoples for the storm of civil war through which they had passed when Nero was overthrown. But the land had not suffered so much as some others during the revolution. Vespasian pushed the municipal principle in other provinces also. That his action took a wider range in Spain than elsewhere is to be explained by the ripeness of the country for the measure. In this connexion it is interesting to contrast Spain with Gaul, which Vespasian touched but little. The number of the new 'municipia Flavia' in Spain must have been very great; yet only about twenty are known to us from inscriptions. The term 'municipium,' once thought by scholars to be applicable to Roman communities only, which were not colonies, certainly embraces the Latin towns in Spain. Probably the great majority of these, if not all, acquired Roman privileges before the general enfranchisement was carried out by Caracalla. Two great Roman emperors, Trajan and Hadrian, were born in Spain at the burgess town of Italica, between Cordova and Seville. In his autobiography, Hadrian said that his ancestors had settled there "in the time of the Scipios." The place therefore had a history somewhat similar to that of Carteia. Spain could not fail to benefit by the rise to the throne of two natives of the peninsula. The legend on coins of Hadrian 'restitutor Hispaniae' is probably not merely a piece of flattery.

The best records we have of towns reorganised by Vespasian

or Domitian are those of Malaca (Malaga) and Salapensa. Important fragments of the codes which were given at the time for the government of these places were discovered about forty years ago, and cast a flood of light on the internal government of the town-commonwealth in the imperial age. Incidentally, also, the solution of a number of problems connected with Rome itself was furthered by the discovery. At this point we will only notice the wide door which the ordinances opened for the attainment of the complete Roman status. Along with the municipal magistrate, his parents, his wife, his children who remain under his legal control, and their children still remaining under legal control are enfranchised. The privilege of course was inherited by succeeding generations. It has been supposed that this is the 'greater Latin right' (*maius Latium*) mentioned by Gaius and in a Latin inscription found at Gigthi in Africa. If this opinion is correct, the enfranchisement (*minus Latium*) which was effected by the tenure of a magistracy in an ordinary Latin city was purely personal to its holder. The improbability of this view is considerable. Another opinion is, according to all appearance, better founded, viz. that the 'maius Latium' carried with it the enfranchisement of all who became members of the municipal senate.

One thing is certain, that in organising Spain the Romans did not find it necessary to preserve, as they did in Gaul, the unity of the tribes or cantons, making them the basis of the system of government which they there adopted. No great racial aggregates like the Allobroges remained in Spain as elements of local administration. The clans were broken up freely into smaller sections with municipal or quasi-municipal institutions. In seeking the cause for this difference of treatment, we naturally call to mind the statements made by ancient writers with regard to the great number of towns (*oppida*) which the Romans found existent in the peninsula when they entered it. Nothing of the kind is recorded of Gaul or Britain, or indeed of any of the provinces which passed from barbarism, complete or partial, to civilisation, excepting Africa.

On the trophy set up by Pompey in the Pyrenees he boasted that he had conquered 867 'oppida' which lay between the Alps and the extreme bounds of 'farther Spain.' There is a curious passage in Strabo where the Stoic philosopher Posidonius is quoted as ridiculing Polybius, because he stated that Gracchus, the father of the tribunes, had destroyed 300 cities in Spain. Posidonius accused the historian of flattering the general by glorifying castles with the name of towns. He compares the practice common at triumphal processions in Rome, of exhibiting representations of cities which were in reality small fortresses. But there is adequate evidence to prove that towns of some size were numerous in Spain in the early days of the Roman occupation, whatever may have been the exaggerations of which Roman generals and their flatterers were guilty. Gracchus, the general just mentioned, made a treaty with some warlike Celtiberian peoples, by which they were forbidden 'to found towns.' But the Belli subjected some of the minor clans, and surrounded their city Segeda, which Appian describes as "great and powerful," with walls six stadia in circumference. Numantia, whose site has recently been explored, must have been for generations a great city as well as a strong fortress. Ercavica, another Celtiberian town, is described by Livy as "nobilis ac potens civitas" in 179 B.C. Strabo says, with regard to the Lusitanians, that the Romans "made most of their cities into villages (kômai), but some of them they refounded on better lines." On the whole it seems fairly certain that the tide in Spain was setting strongly towards urban life when the Romans undertook the conquest. They tried to check it now and again, but never stemmed it, and at last not only themselves yielded to it but gave it new strength and volume, until it overflowed the whole peninsula. The monuments of Roman dominion there testify splendidly to the civilising power of the Empire. Everywhere are scattered remains of Roman walls, bridges, aqueducts, baths, amphitheatres and all the equipments of civic life. Not a few names of tribes with which the Romans struggled are recorded on inscriptions as having contributed towards the

works of peace, allying themselves to make roads, bridges, and other conveniences of civilisation. A Roman bridge at Alcantara bears such a record. At Segovia, Tarraco, and Merida still stand imposing ruins of aqueducts worthy to be compared with the finest in the empire, those which supplied Rome itself for example, or Nîmes, or Carthage. The services of men of Spanish origin to the empire as generals, administrators and literary men, from the age of Caesar onwards are familiar. The Spanish born poet Martial loves to sing the praises of his native Bilbilis, a Celtiberian town, famed, he says, for its horses and its gold. His fatherland should be as proud of him as Verona of her subtle Catullus. Corduba, he tells us, prates of her two Senecas and her unique Lucan. His eulogy of Quintilian, a native of Calagurris, on the upper course of the Ebro, is well known.

The archaeological exploration of Spain has only been systematically undertaken in recent days. When it has been pushed with the energy shown by French investigators in Africa, it will be possible to give a much clearer picture of Roman civilisation in the peninsula than can be drawn at present. Already the results achieved have given a new idea of the civilisation of the native races, influenced by Punic and Hellenic forces, before the Romans touched their country. It is probable that but few Roman towns were built upon unoccupied sites. At Caesar's colony of Urso, for instance, interesting reliefs have been discovered, figuring Iberian priests or priestesses; and similar relics have been unearthed in other places. It is clear that in Spain the Romans found ready to their hand a condition of society which was very favourable to the municipal development of the country on Italic lines. In the West, only the Rhone valley and Carthaginian Africa could compare with Spain in this respect.

In Spain, more even than in general, the legionary soldiers were an important civilising agency. A Roman corps carried with it not merely the arts of war but many of the arts of peace. Works of all kinds could be carried out by it, partly by its own labour, partly by directing the hands of

the auxiliary forces attached to it, or of the barbarous population. There is hardly any department of construction in which striking examples of the skill of the legions were not exhibited, according to the evidence of surviving memorials. The network of roads which came into existence with the advent of the legions promoted trade, and by promoting trade, led to the creation of new cities and to the development of great towns out of villages. The camp was in itself, in a sense, a city. In every province, the soldiers contributed powerfully to the movement by which the ideal of life was changed from the rustic to the urban. In a vast number of places, as we have seen and shall see, the soldier prepared the way for the civilian. The story of the empire is as intimately bound up on its civil as on its military side, with the history of the legions. In Spain we could find some of the most vivid illustrations of this fact. The tale of the Seventh Legion called 'Legio Septima Gemina' or 'Galbiana,' because it was raised by the emperor Galba in Spain, is instructive. It passed nearly the whole term of its existence, to the late imperial period, in the country. Its headquarters for ages were in the country of the Astures, to the north-west of Asturica Augusta. Here a town grew up; but no other name was used for it but Legio, and it is now Leon, giving title to a whole province as well as to a city. In Wales the same transformation has supplied, as we saw, the second portion of the name Caer-leon.

The Balearic isles were closely connected, in administration, with the Tarraconensian province of Spain. Towards the end of the Second Punic War the islanders exchanged the alliance with Carthage for an alliance with Rome, which was not broken till 121 B.C. when Q. Caecilius Metellus made the conquest which gave him the title of 'Balearicus.' He founded in Majorca two towns, whose fancy names, Pollentia 'the city of strength' and 'Palma,' made allusion to his victory. The designation of Palma is unaltered to-day, and that of Pollentia is but slightly changed; it is Pollenza. Like Faventia, Valentia, and some other of the fantastic

town-titles which began to be invented about the time of the contest with Hannibal, 'Pollentia' occurs in more than one region. Near a town of that name in Liguria Stilicho inflicted a great defeat upon Alaric the Goth. The original status of the two towns founded by Metellus is uncertain. The settlers consisted of 3000 men brought over from Spain. Strabo calls them 'Romans,' but he is inaccurate in his use of ethnic terms. Probably they received Latin rights, according to the precedent set at Carteia, and Valentia, in Spain. But it is possible that no attempt to Latinise the islands was made before the Augustan age, when coins were struck in which they were described as 'insulae Augustae.' Certainly for a long time the civilisation of the islands, originally Iberian, remained Punic. In the Augustan time, when Agrippa's survey was made, as we learn from Pliny, Pollentia and Palma were Roman 'municipia'; and there were two Latin communities, while a town with a Punic name, Bocchori, was 'civitas foederata.' But an inscription in Latin has been preserved of the date B.C. 6 in which the magistrates of Bocchori are described as 'praetores.' The name may be a Latin rendering of a Punic title. It is not unlikely that Vespasian conferred Latin rights on the whole of the Balearic communities which had not already the Latin or the Roman status. Pliny describes the two islands, which bore the name Ebusus (Iviza), as forming a federated state. But on the larger there was from Vespasian's time a 'municipium Flavium' called Ebusum. A number of old Carthaginian names persisted, among them 'Mago,' now 'Mahon' in Minorca.

Before passing to Africa, we must glance at Sardinia and Corsica, as they were when under Roman rule. The Romans made a landing in Corsica in 259 B.C., but the island was not ceded to them by Carthage at the end of the First Punic War. Soon after, however, both Corsica and Sardinia were basely filched from Carthage at a time when she was helpless. Until the reign of Vespasian the two formed one province, designated by the single name Sardinia. No possessions ever held by Rome show to-day so few traces

of her ascendency. 'Sardinians for sale' was a proverbial phrase in the time of Plautus, in contempt for the worthless slaves brought in hordes from the island. Cicero asked what other province besides Sardinia was without a single community in free and friendly alliance with Rome. There was therefore no 'civitas' entitled to call itself 'libera' or 'foederata.' The natives of Sardinia proper were locally supervised by a number of nominees of the governor, entitled 'praefecti.' According to Roman practice, these would deal tenderly with local law and custom. In the island of Sardinia, very few places existed with ordinary local autonomy until after the Augustan period. We find later a few towns with communal government, after settlers had been introduced. The only one of these places which rose to importance was Carales, the modern Cagliari. It had a part to play in late imperial and early Christian history, largely owing to its splendid harbour. Possibly it became a Roman town in the reign of Augustus. The case of Corsica was somewhat better. Pliny reckons thirty-two 'oppida'; that is places possessed in some sort of communal institutions. Two were military colonies; a 'colonia Mariana' founded by Marius, and Aleria, created by Sulla. Aleria, called by the Greeks Alalia, was an old native and Carthaginian city. Connected with it is a famous story in Herodotus, who tells how the Phocaeans in 564 B.C. tried to settle there and were driven away by the Carthaginians and their Etruscan allies after a great sea fight. It is an interesting episode in the long struggle of Punians, Etruscans and Greeks for supremacy in the western Mediterranean. It will be remembered that in one of the famous early inscriptions of the Scipio family, a Scipio boasts of having captured Aleria during the first Carthaginian war. But neither Corsica nor Sardinia was ever, in the strict sense, subdued by Rome. A modern novelist, laying his scene in Corsica, entitled his story 'The Isle of Unrest.' That fairly describes its state from the dawn of history almost to the present age. There is hardly a bit of Roman road there. The Latin inscriptions unearthed in it number about a score. More have been

discovered at Cagliari alone. Strabo pictures the Corsicans as turbulent brigands and worthless even when enslaved. Seneca passed a dreary time of exile on the island, and speaks of its savage people and its arid stony soil. But in Cicero's time Sardinia was, in his phrase, "one of the three frumentary supports of the Republic," the other two being Sicily and the province of Africa. Sardinia and Corsica were heavily taxed, but it may be conjectured that the incessant warfare in them and the cost of the army of occupation left for the government a heavy balance on the debit side.

# CHAPTER X

## ROMAN AFRICA

WONDERFUL as was the transformation which the Romans wrought in Gaul, and still more in Spain, the work which they achieved in Africa was more marvellous still. Their sphere was that north-western section of the African continent which, as has often been noted, is cut off, geographically and ethnologically, from the rest, and in reality has its affinities with Europe. Cyrene, and in a sense Egypt, belonged to that portion of the Roman empire which was surrendered by its rulers, in the main, to the permeating influence of the Hellenic culture. In no other part of the world which the Romans held are the tokens of their presence so widely spread as in northern Africa, or the testimonies to the assimilating force of their municipal system so abundant. And the evidence makes a deeper impression on the beholder, because of the contrast between the Roman civilisation and the culture which exists in the same regions to-day: flourishing cities, villages and farms abounded in districts which are now sterile and deserted.

The way in Africa was prepared for the Romans by their predecessors. The policy of Carthage with regard to her subjects was not unlike that of Rome. She had been a colonising power much in the same sense in which the description applies to her rival. The Carthaginian government seems not to have been averse to the conception of the city commonwealth as the unit for a complex confederation, which constituted an all-embracing single state.

In Africa, as in other countries where men of the Punic race settled, they formed only a thin stratum of the population. But they were able to win over many of the indigenous people to the acceptance of civic life. This was achieved in part by the dispersion of Punic colonists in the interior, who leavened the districts in which they came to dwell, just as the sparse emigrants sent out from Rome or from Latin cities to colonies in Italy were able to Latinise considerable areas around them. Another potent influence was that of agriculture, in which the Carthaginians were adepts; and advanced agriculture was one of the chief conditions favourable to the extension of municipalism. The example of Carthage was copied by Masinissa in his Numidian dominions. When the rural economy of Italy was falling into decay near the end of the Second Punic War, the Roman government caused a translation to be made from a Carthaginian work on farming for the benefit of the Italian peoples. In the realm of Carthage the native tribes had been largely transformed from nomads into cultivators of the soil before the Romans annexed any part of it. We are told that there were three hundred towns in the Carthaginian dominions alone. They had a form of administration which resembled that of Carthage herself, just as local institutions in Italy resembled those of Rome. There were annually changing magistrates called by the name 'sufetes,' which is the Hebrew 'shophet'; there was a local council or senate; and since historians represent the general mass of citizens as able at Carthage to influence the general course of affairs, we may suppose that the burgesses of the local towns were not without power. These Punic forms of civic administration survived in many places deep down into the Roman age. The name 'Libyphoenician,' applied to a section of the subjects of Carthage, proclaims the success with which she had allured the native tribes to accept her civilisation. No doubt the regard paid to local autonomy strengthened the governing power in Africa as in Italy. In one respect the Carthaginian domination in Africa differed widely from that of the Romans

in Italy. The provincial towns paid regular tribute to the treasury of the suzerain power, whereas the Italian cities were unburdened, excepting by service in time of war. But the taxation imposed by Carthage seems not to have been excessive, or to have stimulated revolt. The troubles of the Carthaginian rulers appear to have arisen far less from civic discontent than from the arrogance of mercenary soldiers brought from outside.

The Romans then had to superimpose the Italic civilisation in the first instance on the groundwork which had been prepared for them by the Punian influence operating on the indigenous tribes which we denote by the name 'Berber.' There was also another civilising force at work in Africa, obviously powerful, but hard to define or to estimate with precision. Mommsen has truly said with regard to Africa in Caesar's time that it would have been easier to Hellenise it than to Latinise it. The Hellenic germs spread from the great sea-coast cities. It is true that, generally speaking, these were of Phoenician origin, from the western limit of the Carthaginian territory to the boundary of the Greek settlements about Cyrene. But, before the days of Roman supremacy, every Mediterranean seaport was deeply affected by Greek commerce and Greek immigration. It is probable that the culture of these north African maritime cities had become in the main Hellenic before the Italians flowed into them. Their coins, down to the time of Tiberius, bear Punic inscriptions almost exclusively, but that may have been conventional and traditional practice. Regular Greek colonies on this coast appear to have been few and not important. About 310 B.C. Agathocles established a town to the south of Cape Bon, which he called 'Shield' (Aspis), a name taken from a neighbouring promontory, just as a Sicilian town was called 'Sickle' (Drepanum). The Romans rendered 'Aspis' by 'Clupea,' adhering curiously to the gender of the Greek word. There were two small places called Aphrodisium, and south of Clupea was Neapolis, which had been colonised, it was said, from Melita (Malta), a Carthaginian possession,

but apparently containing Hellenes among its population. Of cities not belonging to Carthage, Icosium, where Algiers now stands, is supposed to have been a Greek foundation. By whatever channels, the Hellenic spirit penetrated deeply the culture of the African lands annexed by Rome, and manifested itself there down to the latest days of imperial domination. It must be remembered that the Greek trader brought in his company the artist, the poet, the sophist and the teacher, whereas the Italian trader drew after him no such train. Sculpture of the finest Greek period has been discovered at Carthage, probably executed by Greeks on the spot.

When therefore the Romans entered Africa they found city life far more fully developed there than in any other of their western possessions. Agathocles invaded the Carthaginian dominions near the end of the fourth century B.C. and captured, it is said, more than two hundred towns. His soldiers were astonished by the richness of the country round about a city called Megalopolis, the site of which cannot now be identified. It seems to have lain in a fertile plain south of Cape Bon. Again Polybius tells us that Regulus, in the middle of the third century, took possession of numerous rich cities, surrounded by splendid suburbs. The elder Africanus got into his hands a number of strong fortresses which were at the same time opulent civil communities. The subtle Roman policy pursued between the First and Second Punic Wars enabled Masinissa, so the Carthaginians alleged, to possess himself of more than seventy of their towns or strong places. And when the Romans carried on war against Jugurtha in the old Numidian dominions of Masinissa, they found in them a number of wealthy cities. The richness of the soil is betokened by the repeated rapid recoveries which the country made after widespread devastation, in the times of Agathocles, Regulus, the two Africani and Caesar.

The dealings of Rome with Africa exemplify the shrinking from annexation and from the responsibility of direct government which she often entertained. She acquired no permanent foothold on the African continent until Carthage

was razed to the ground in 146 B.C. Even then only a narrow strip of territory was taken lying along the coast. Over the cruel destruction of the city, which is declared to have been peopled by seven hundred thousand souls, Scipio (so says his friend Polybius) shed tears. The districts conquered by Masinissa were guaranteed to his three sons, and to them was left some of the richest land possessed by Carthage, in the valleys of the Bagradas and other rivers. Also the regions farther inland fell to the Numidian princes, so that the country occupied by them joined the territory of Cyrene. The conquerors only kept for themselves a small stretch whose coastline extended westward from Cape Bon (*promunturium Mercurii*) to the mouth of the river Tusca, where lay an island called Tabraca (now Tabarca); while to the southward of the Cape the annexed coastline stretched to Thenae on the lesser Syrtis, where the shore turns eastward. From this point to the confines of Cyrene was Numidian territory, and on the westward of the Roman province Numidia proper extended from Tabraca to a river called Mulucha, now Muluya, the boundary between the French province of Oran and the empire of Morocco. Scipio closely defined the territory taken in possession by making an entrenchment (*fossa*) from Tabraca to Thenae. One or two boundary stones with inscriptions have come to light, which show that the memory of the frontier line established by Scipio was preserved to a late date.

The Roman province of Africa therefore at first occupied only the northern part of modern Tunisia. Even within this district the Romans showed from the beginning a desire to govern, as far as possible, through the existing town commonwealths. A few of these suffered for their stubborn loyalty to Carthage. Strabo mentions four or five as having been destroyed. The statement of Appian that every city which had supported Carthage was swept out of existence is obviously untrue. Some of the towns which were punished probably revived again before long. Clupea, said to have been desolated when Carthage fell, was again an important town in

the age of Caesar. The great seaport cities were proclaimed 'free.' The Punic towns of the interior doubtless became 'stipendiary'; but the tribute which they paid was not capriciously levied. It was fixed once for all, probably on the lines of the Carthaginian imposts. When Appian says that a poll-tax was imposed on all the inhabitants "man and woman alike," he grossly exaggerates. If there is any truth in his statement, it can only apply to the few communities whose local government was abolished. And even so, the condition must have been temporary.

The first great event in the history of Roman Africa was the valiant attempt of Gaius Gracchus to refound Carthage as a Roman community. But the imprecations uttered by Scipio over the site of the city remained operative. The wolves which ran off with the boundary stones of the new settlement did splendid service to the aristocratic party in Rome. Still the project of Gracchus did not altogether fail. Some thousands of Roman emigrants were planted at Carthage and lived there, though they were not allowed to form a municipality. Nearly eighty years passed before a town of Italic pattern was created in the country. But men from Italy were coming into it all the time and settling down in it, many as traders, but many also as cultivators. During the Jugurthine war two towns outside the Roman province, Cirta and Vaga in Numidia, contained a sufficiently large Italic population to form garrisons for their defence. Doubtless the condition of some other towns, particularly important coast towns, was similar. Wherever Romans or Italians gathered, they banded themselves together to organise such common action as was possible. The Roman or Italian 'conventus,' as it has been described earlier, must have been powerful within the peregrin cities of Africa, as elsewhere.

Some light is thrown on the condition of Roman Africa in the age of the Gracchi by the 'Lex agraria' of 111 B.C., which has in large part come down to us. That statute marked the termination of the agrarian movement initiated by Tiberius Gracchus, and was designed to settle all questions

of title to land which had once formed part of the Roman national estates. One section of it relates to Africa. It contains references to the 'lex Rubria' which was passed at the instance of Gaius Gracchus, the law which authorised the colonisation of Carthage. The language of the 'Lex agraria' makes it certain that Gracchus contemplated the formation of other colonies in Africa. His policy perhaps was to parcel out all the 'publicus ager,' the government domain in the province, among new Italic communities. If this was the idea of Gracchus, it was only partially resumed by Caesar. The references in the agrarian Law to the 'free cities' are interesting. Some of these had been in semi-independent alliance with Carthage, but had during the course of the struggle with Rome submitted and received favourable conditions. Seven are mentioned in the text, and all these seem to have obtained accessions of territory out of the Carthaginian domain. Rome used them as instruments of government under careful supervision, as she used the client princes. These towns as named in the statute were Utica, Hadrumetum, Tampsus, Leptis (minor), Aquilla, Usalis, Teudalis. Some of these were of great and ancient fame. Utica claimed to be an older Phoenician city than Carthage, and her position had been rather that of an ally than of a subject state. Situated near the mouth of the river Bagradas, commanding its fertile valley, and possessed in ancient days of a fine haven, Utica was one of the great emporia of the Mediterranean. In the second of the treaties between Rome and Carthage of which Polybius speaks, assignable to the fourth century B.C., the Romans and certain allies are one contracting party, while the other party is composed of the Carthaginians, the Tyrians, the people of Utica, and their respective allies. Just before the final catastrophe overtook Carthage, the city of Utica yielded to Scipio, and obtained recognition as a 'free city.' But the Romans used her as the administrative centre of their province until the rebirth of Carthage. Her territory, always extensive, was increased by the Romans, and bordered on that of Hippo Diarrhytus

(Bizerta) on the west. Hadrumetum to the south had an extraordinary commercial prosperity both before and in the Roman age, even surpassing that of Utica. Tampsus is no other than Thapsus, best known from Caesar's campaign in northern Africa. It lay south of Hadrumetum, and between the two was the lesser Leptis. According to Livy, the Carthaginians derived from Thapsus a revenue of a talent a day. South of Thapsus was Aquilla or Acholla (Achulla on its coins). Its name corresponds with an old designation Achulla or Agylla, the Punic name, it was said, of Caere in Etruria. Usalis (or Uzelis) and Teudalis were near Carthage.

The Jugurthine war brought Rome into relationship with three cities on the sea to the east of the province, Leptis Magna, Oea, and Sabrata. These places formed a sort of federal alliance, named 'Tripolis' or 'The Three Cities.' All three were old Phoenician settlements, in which immigrant Greeks had established themselves. We are reminded by the name of that Tripolis on the Syrian coast, where three towns separated by walls were in juxtaposition, and constituted a federal community; having been founded by three principal Phoenician cities, Tyre, Sidon and Arados. In Africa to-day the name 'Tripoli' survives as that of a town and a country. The modern town lies where Oea stood in ancient times. Leptis Magna was a populous and prosperous place till the empire fell into decay in the fourth century. It revived in the Byzantine age. It was the birthplace of the first African emperor of Rome, Septimius Severus who, out of regard for his native city, severed the 'regio Tripolitana' from the province of Africa and gave it a separate administration. It is curious that the most dangerous rival of Severus, Clodius Albinus, whom he defeated in a great battle on the plains north of Lugudunum, was also a native of Africa, having been born at Hadrumetum. On the site of Leptis (now Lebda) still exist remains which speak of its greatness as a Roman city.

The 'Lex agraria' supplies evidence that Italic settlers had been filtering into the province of Africa between the time of the occupation and 111 B.C. Portions of the 'publicus

ager' there had been sold in Rome to immigrants. And Marius, as we shall find, planted some of his veteran soldiers in the country. But, beyond the alliance with Tripolis, the Jugurthine war made little change in the position of the Romans on the African continent. In 46 B.C., when the king of Numidia met his death as an ally of the Pompeians at the battle of Thapsus, his kingdom was annexed. This territory was considerably larger than Numidia proper, and included the land which later was the province of Mauretania Caesareensis. Iuba II, the son of the prince of the same name who perished at Thapsus, was sent back by Augustus to Numidia in 30 B.C., perhaps rather as Roman representative than as king. Five years later a throne was found for him in Mauretania, and Numidia proper was incorporated with the old province of Africa, being sometimes distinguished from it as 'new Africa' (*Africa nova*). The coast-line of the enlarged province extended from the river Ampsaga in the west to the boundary of Cyrenaica on the east. Septimius Severus gave separate administrations to Numidia and to Tripolis; but for the sake of convenience, the term 'Africa' will be here applied to the large region which bore that name from 25 B.C. nearly to the end of the second century. It covered the modern Tripoli and Tunis and the French province of Constantine in Algeria. Numidia, though its kings had often been hostile to the Carthaginian power, had been deeply affected by the Punic civilisation. Masinissa had aspired to be a great founder of towns after the Punic fashion.

On entering into Africa, therefore, the Romans took possession of a land in which the system of city commonwealths, of a kind, was relatively far advanced, and where two streams of alien culture, the Punian and the Greek, had penetrated to some extent among the inhabitants.

When Caesar turned his attention to the reorganisation of Africa, the sporadic settlers from Italy had made some impression on the country, although there was not in it as yet any Roman or Latin municipality. The Gracchan

immigrants at Carthage had been followed by groups of the veteran soldiers of Marius. Some of these had settled beyond the limits of what was then the province of Africa. A rural community or 'pagus' at a place called Uchi Maius, on a tributary of the Bagradas, obtained from Alexander Severus the right to call itself a colony and, mindful of its history, described itself as 'colonia Mariana.' A pompous extant inscription celebrates the achievement of the dignity. In the same region was a place called Thibaris which in the reign of Diocletian described itself as 'municipium Marianum Thibaritanum.'

The reigns of Caesar and Augustus constitute the first great stage in the municipalisation of Roman Africa. After that time there was a pause, as in Spain. No considerable further advance was made until the age of Trajan. Something was achieved by Hadrian and the Antonines, but the great period of change was that of the dynasty of the Severi, whose origin was African. To gain a preliminary idea of the work which was accomplished under the Empire, we may contrast two statements, one made by an ancient, and the other by a modern writer. Pliny has given a summary of the communities of Roman Africa as they were near the end of the Augustan period. They numbered, he says, 516. These included six Roman colonies, fifteen burgess cities, one Latin town, one 'stipendiary' town and thirty 'free cities.' Of the rest some were 'civitates,' and many might be called more fitly 'nationes'; that is to say, their organisation was rather tribal than even quasi-municipal. The one Latin commonwealth was Uzelis, one of the seven towns mentioned in the 'Lex agraria' as 'free.' Roman Africa is distinguished from the other Roman possessions in the West by the small use made there of the 'Latinitas' as a stage preparatory to the complete Roman condition. It seems that when the African 'civitas' changed its status, it almost always passed to the grade of Roman 'municipium' or 'colonia.' The 'civitates' of Pliny are communities approaching the urban character, but not organised in the Italic manner. The mention of the

one 'stipendiary' town is curious. There must have been a considerable number of native communities which still paid fixed tribute to the Roman treasury. The town in question is Castra Cornelia, a place on high ground in the neighbourhood of Utica. Its name commemorates the fact that in the winter between 204 and 203 B.C. Scipio had his winter camp there. From the description given of the site by Caesar in his 'Civil War' it is clear that Pliny has made some strange mistake, not only about Castra Cornelia, but about Uzelis (Usalis).

Over against the statement of Pliny just quoted may be placed a summary of the results of modern research into the towns of a portion only of the Roman dominions in northern Africa, given by M. Toutain in his work entitled 'Les cités Romaines de la Tunisie.' He mentions more than two hundred sites where the former existence of Roman municipalities is either known or fairly certain. In quite half the cases, the proof was complete when he wrote in 1896, and much additional evidence has come to light since. The splendid work of the French savants who are exploring the antiquities of northern Africa is constantly adding to knowledge. The reports published year by year are extraordinarily rich in results. It is probable that in the fourth century the number of towns with Roman municipal institutions was between three and four hundred. Sometimes the existence of a regular municipality has been revealed by the survival of a single inscription. In not a few instances the existence of a civic commonwealth is attested by inscribed stones; yet no name has been discovered. We found that many towns in Italy are known to us only by their coins, and that these give sometimes only two or three letters of their names. The same is the case with not a few ancient African towns whose ruins stand on the ground. In a number of other cases the remains are there but not a single letter of a name has been brought to light. The field of Roman municipal antiquities in northern Africa is so vast that no more can be here attempted than to present in outline the

principal features of the great evolution, with a few details by way of illustration.

Caesar certainly reconstituted Carthage. But although he settled at the place some of his veterans, he must have drawn the new population mainly from African residents. The question of the status which he gave to the municipality is difficult and depends on the interpretation of a few somewhat obscure inscriptions. Most probably the newly arisen Carthage was for a time neither a Roman nor a Latin city, but received an organisation which was Punic in character. It was made the centre of a great territory, comprising within it eighty-three smaller communities, for whose administration Carthage was rendered in part responsible. Each of these seems to have received annually from the capital an officer named 'duumvir' in spite of the fact that he acted without a colleague. The position of this officer was somewhat similar to that of the 'praefectus' who was nominated at Rome to dispense justice in many towns of Italy during the Republican age. Each of the subordinate places had a form of local government and possessed two annually changing magistrates, called 'aediles.' The name seems to be here merely a rendering of the old Punic title 'sufetes.' The local laws and customs were, we must suppose, left untouched. The eighty-three communities were called 'castella,' but the application of the term is unlike that which we find elsewhere. For these 'castella,' thus connected with Carthage, were in many cases places of considerable importance. All of them were apparently permitted to use the title 'colonia,' possibly because, like the revived Carthage, they contained among their inhabitants a sprinkling of men who had served in Caesar's army. But the permission to use this name was a remarkable innovation, and was cancelled by Augustus. As at the 'Colonia Genetiva' (Urso) in Spain, founded by Caesar, freedmen were allowed to hold magistracies at Carthage, and to act for it as 'duoviri' in the subordinated communities. The experiment which Caesar made in the grouping of the eighty-three towns round Carthage was

and remained unique in the municipal history of the empire.

It is not certain that any other change of condition passed over the towns of the African province in the time of Caesar. Some scholars have conjectured that he gave Latin privilege to Utica. This famous old city certainly became a Roman municipality in the reign of Augustus, who may have wished to console it for a loss of dignity caused by the promotion of Carthage to be the capital of the province. Augustus broke up the combination of which his predecessor had made Carthage the head. Some of the units of Caesar's confederation speedily took rank as Roman civic commonwealths. Most, it seems, assumed the position of towns in free alliance with Rome. When, some generations later, some of them obtained imperial sanction for the use of the title 'colonia,' they added the word 'Iulia,' in memory of their old connexion with Caesar. Among these places was Carpis, situated opposite to Carthage on the deep bay called 'Sinus Uticensis.' This town remained certainly a 'free city' till the end of the second century. Another of the so-called 'castella' was Hippo Diarrhytus, now Bizerta, at the head of a deep inlet south of Cape Blanco, which blossomed forth as 'colonia Iulia,' and again another was Neapolis, of which mention has already been made. Assuras, about three-quarters of the way inland from Carthage, on a route between that city and the great frontier camp at Theveste (Tebessa), was one of the towns associated by Caesar with Carthage. It was already a Roman municipality in the reign of Augustus, and became a 'colonia Iulia.' Carthage itself, whose veteran soldier settlers, along with those of the places near it, were drawn back into military service by the Triumvir Lepidus, was refounded after the battle of Actium with full Roman status. Some three thousand colonists, comprising soldiers and civilians, were planted there, and more inhabitants were brought in from the country near at hand. If the historian Dio Cassius be credited, the new foundation was not planted precisely on the site of Punic Carthage, out

of regard for the old Scipionic curse, but as near it as might be. The town was now fortified and had for its garrison, like Lugudunum, one of the 'urban cohorts,' whose main duty was the policing of Rome. Carthage obtained the coveted 'ius Italicum' from the African emperor Severus. Its splendid history as a Roman city is familiar to all who have studied the imperial age. It became the great administrative centre of the province, and was for long the second city of the empire. Its rank next to Rome, before the foundation of Constantinople, was never seriously challenged; hardly even by the two great Graeco-Oriental cities, Antioch and Alexandria. Carthage shone in all the occupations of a brilliant ancient city, in arts, letters and oratory, and in devotion to the theatre, the amphitheatre, and the circus. The popular passion for the chariot races, so distinctive of the later imperial centuries, raged here with a fury hardly equalled elsewhere, excepting in Constantinople. The circus was as large as that at Rome. In the beginning of the second century the city obtained permission to celebrate 'Pythian games.' Some of the magic tablets, of which many have been found at Carthage (*tabulae devotionum*), contain imprecations levelled at horses or charioteers, and intended to paralyze them in the hour of contest. No western city held so important a place in the early history of Christianity as Carthage. The ultimate victory of the Christian religion perhaps depended more on its fortunes in the African dominions of Rome than on its acceptance in the Greek-speaking districts of the empire.

The other steps taken in the period of Caesar and Augustus towards the Latinisation of Africa are hard to trace in detail. Doubtless all the places which are called "colonies" and "towns of Roman citizens" by Pliny owed their privileges to Augustus. He settled a considerable number of time-expired soldiers in the land, some of them in colonial communities, municipally organised, some of them scattered in villages and in the open country. Maxula, Uthina and Thuburbo Maius, in the rich country near Carthage, were

probably Augustan colonies. Maxula was supposed to be of Hellenic origin. These places prospered greatly, and retain some prosperity even at the present day. So with Sicca Veneria, the history of which deserves special notice. It was established by a remarkable man called Sittius, a leader of free-lances in the age of Caesar. He was a native of Nuceria in Campania, and having burnt his fingers by tampering with the movement of Catiline, enlisted a band of condottieri and hired out his services to Bocchus king of eastern Mauretania, who took Caesar's side in the Civil War. In 46 B.C. he obtained Caesar's permission to settle his followers on territory which had belonged to Cirta. This city, now Constantine in Algeria, took from Constantine the Great a new name that supplanted the old. We first hear of Cirta as capital of the Numidian kingdom of Syphax; it then passed into the hands of Masinissa. It is worthy of note that his descendant Micipsa settled Greek colonists at the place. Strabo declares that in the time of Micipsa Cirta and its dependencies could place in the field a force of 20,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry. That prince welcomed Italian as well as Greek settlers, and we have seen how a levy of men of Italian birth defended the city against Jugurtha. Its situation was magnificent, on a precipitous height above the river Ampsaga, forty miles from the sea, approachable only over a narrow neck of land. When Sittius attached his followers to the place it became a Roman colony and called itself 'colonia Iulia Iuvenalis Honoris et Virtutis.' Like Marius, whom his connexion Cicero once called "the most treacherous of mankind," Sittius appears to have been devoted to the cult of 'Honour and Virtue.' A large slice of the domain of Cirta was allotted by Sittius to a new veteran colony, with the designation 'colonia Iulia Veneria Cirta Nova Sicca.' Its ordinary title was 'Sicca Veneria,' but it was proud to call itself sometimes the 'new Cirta.' The word 'Veneria' alludes to Venus as the mythic ancestress of the Julian family rather than to the worship of Venus in the city itself; since Rusicade, another colony of

Sittius, also called itself 'Veneria.' The territory of Sicca Veneria must have been of enormous extent. Aubuzza, a place about twenty-five miles to the south, was a 'pagus' of Sicca, and its inhabitants had the rights of citizenship in the colony. Ucubis, a small fortified settlement occupying a strong position to the north-east, was of the same status, and other villages within the territory are known. The inscriptions in the whole region influenced by Sittius of Nuceria give the name Sittius, far from common in Italy, with great frequency. The territory of Cirta also was very large, and extended northward to the sea, forty miles away, and some distance to the south. It included a number of rural communities (*pagi*). Three towns, Chullu and Rusicade (Philippeville in Algeria) on the coast, and Mileu inland, were placed in a peculiar relation to Cirta. Each of these three places, like Cirta, was entitled to call itself a colony. But magistrates acted for all four towns in common, and were called magistrates 'of the four colonies.' The chief civic officers were 'tres viri quattuor coloniarum,' but they had a sub-title 'prefects of the three colonies,' which seems to have applied to them when they were acting outside the chief city Cirta. This title was of course borrowed from the Italian 'praefecti.' A single senate served for all four places. The conjecture is easy and probable that Sittius, a native of Nuceria, imitated in this arrangement the confederation of which Nuceria was the central city. His curious little civic league was dissolved about the end of the third century. The city of Cirta was of great importance in succeeding ages. A number of men born there entered the Roman Senate, among them Fronto, the famous rhetorician, tutor and friend of Marcus Aurelius. His reputation and his African birth caused Cirta and many other African cities to choose him for a patron.

After the death of Caesar the Roman administration in Africa underwent changes. Iuba the younger, whose father, king of Numidia, died on the field of Thapsus, fighting on the Pompeian side, had a romantic history. He, the

descendant of Rome's great ally Masinissa, marched as a captive in Caesar's famous triumphal procession. He was but a child, and remained at Rome to receive an education which made him a leading scholar of his time. He wrote in Greek works which had many different themes, among them geography, particularly that of Africa, and the antiquities of Greece and Rome. They became a mine for *literati* of later generations. He married a princess who had also graced a Roman triumph, that of Augustus after Actium. She was Cleopatra Selene, daughter of Cleopatra and Mark Antony. That noblest of Roman matrons, Octavia the sister of Augustus, had tenderly educated the children of her rival along with her own. Iuba was in Numidia from 30 to 25 B.C. with a commission from Augustus. In the latter year he was made king of Mauretania. Eastern and western Mauretania had both come into Roman possession, and the last kings of both native dynasties, Bocchus and Bogud, were dead. Iuba proved himself an enlightened and popular monarch, and was honoured beyond his own dominions. Extant inscriptions record his election to a magistracy at Gades and to another at New Carthage in Spain. A curious allusion to the honour done to him at Gades is made by the poet Rufius Festus Avienus, who wrote about the middle of the fourth century. A statue of him was erected at Athens. His capital was the old Numidian city Iol, the home of Bocchus and his ancestors, which was renamed Caesarea. The place (now Cherchel) was about sixty miles westward of the present Algiers, on the coast. Here Iuba adorned his capital and held his court more after the fashion of a Hellenistic prince than of his own forbears. Many remains of his time and his son's time are in the museum of Cherchel, and their taste for works of art is attested by the quality of the sculpture discovered on the site. A celebrated monument rather less than forty miles to the west of Algiers, on a height rising more than seven hundred feet above the sea, and visible from afar to travellers both on land and by ships, is the mausoleum of Iuba and Cleopatra.

In its architecture it combined Greek and Egyptian characteristics. At its base were sixty engaged Ionic columns, while the whole structure was a sort of truncated cone, tapering away by stages, like the steps of a pyramid, and its summit was originally about two hundred feet above the platform on which it was built. Legends have attached themselves to this fine relic, and one of them is mirrored in its present-day name 'le tombeau de la chrétienne.' Another great monument, a good deal similar in form, exists far inland in Numidia, thirty-five miles to the south-west of Cirta. It is now known as 'Madracen' or 'Madrassen' and has been supposed to be the tomb of the great Masinissa and his family.

Iuba's son received the name Ptolemy from his Egyptian ancestors. He reigned in Caesarea for about seventeen years after his father's death in 23 A.D. Then Caligula, who was, like Ptolemy, a grandson of Mark Antony, summoned his cousin to Rome, and put him to death. Suetonius places this atrocity among those committed by the mad emperor which seemed slight and insipid compared with others. The reason for it, he declares, was that at an exhibition the eyes of the populace were deflected from the emperor by the brilliance of Ptolemy's attire. While Ptolemy was perishing by hunger and thirst in the palace, says Seneca, his cousin was arranging to give him a splendid public funeral. Claudius annexed Mauretania and divided it into two provinces, separated by the river Mulucha. The eastern part was called 'Mauretania Caesareensis,' from Iuba's old capital, and the western section was 'Mauretania Tingitana,' from Tingi, now Tangier. These provinces were governed, not like most of the imperial provinces, by legates chosen from among the Senators, but as was the case with several districts in Europe which Augustus added to the empire, by procurators or imperial agents belonging to the equestrian order; a sign that Mauretania was regarded as less important than the lands lying to the eastward. Yet Augustus made here a beginning of the Romanising process. We shall find that a number of places,

mainly on the coast, were exempted from Iuba's jurisdiction, and granted Roman rights. Practically the whole maritime trade of Mauretania was placed under Roman control from the first. Iuba's own city, Caesarea, was the only place of importance on the sea which he retained. We have already had scattered examples of towns organised in Italic fashion within districts not yet annexed by Rome. Emona, in Noricum, was a notable instance. But the position in which Mauretania was placed by Augustus is without any real parallel in the history of the Roman administration. No doubt the cities on the sea had a mixed population, largely Greek and Italian, and were chief among the few places in Mauretania which were ready, at the moment of annexation, for municipal administration after the fashion of the West.

One other change in the government of the Roman dominions in Africa needs to be noticed. A practical, though not theoretical division of the province of Africa into two spheres was made by Caligula. The senatorial governor of the province, always a proconsul, was the only ruler of a senatorial possession who held command of an army of occupation. This was now taken from him and given to an imperial legate. The severance of military from civil authority in a province was of course unusual at the time, but became common in the third century and was made regular by Diocletian. The arrangement adopted in the province of Africa probably entailed the subjection of a considerable region round the army headquarters to the military commander.

The fortunes of Africa (the province) and Mauretania were in some respects strikingly different under the Roman sway. In the former, the army had for its duty the protection of the frontier only. Disturbances of the peace hardly ever came from within. On the other hand, the highly mountainous character of Mauretania opposed grave obstacles to settlement, and enabled the uncivilised tribes to maintain a certain amount of independence. For the sake of internal peace, it was needful that the whole country should be penetrated by lines of fortification, such as in Africa were

maintained only on the borders. In Africa as in the frontier provinces generally, the camps could be advanced from time to time, leaving the districts behind them peaceful and in no need of constant armed protection. No such development was possible in the wilder western land. Even where settlement took place, the provision for military defence could not be relaxed. In the east, the force employed belonged to the regular legionary service; in the west, only auxiliary detachments were maintained. In this respect Mauretania was treated like Noricum and Raetia.

In the province of Africa the 'Roman Peace' may be said to have been a reality for the space of two centuries and a half. On the death of Alexander Severus in 238 A.D. there ensued a half-century of turmoil which affected almost every province of the empire, and Africa suffered with the rest. The warfare maintained by the celebrated chief Tacfarinas during many years of the reign of Tiberius, troubled the western regions through and through, while it made little impression on the eastern dominions beyond the frontier, though Tacfarinas ranged as far as the Tripolitan border. The Tingitane Mauretania was of course more liable to suffer from barbarian raids than the eastern province. The greatest disturbers of the peace were the Mauri or unsettled Moors. Even in the early imperial age they were able to push through the Roman guards and to carry their devastations into Spain. The pastoral poet Calpurnius, writing in the reign of Nero, speaks of the southern province (Baetica) as "beset by the savage Moors" and this trouble continued right through the imperial period. When Mauretania was incorporated with the empire, the heroic efforts necessary for its complete subjugation were not possible. The methods which Caesar had adopted in Gaul, and Augustus in Spain and in the direction of the Danube were never attempted here. All things considered, it is marvellous that the Romans should have been able to make on Mauretania the impression to which extant evidence points. They were aided there by no anterior culture on which the municipal system might

be grafted. Circumstances were even less favourable to them than in the Danubian provinces.

We will now make a rapid survey of the Roman dominion in Africa, from the municipal point of view, looking at it from east to west. The growth and distribution of the cities depended principally, of course, on the varying physical features of the land. The character of the African province was largely determined by the Aurasian mountain chain, one arm of which is prolonged from the modern Algeria into Tunisia and reaches the sea at Cape Bon. The neighbourhood of Tunis itself and of Bizerta (Hippo Diarrhytus) is mountainous, with heights rising to 3000 or 4000 feet. Although this region had as a rule abundant rainfall, it was not otherwise suited to the existence of cities. To the west of Hippo Diarrhytus few places of any importance in the African province lay on or close to the sea. The north-eastern peninsula extending to Cape Bon comprised within it hardly any considerable settlements. But the great coast highway running from Clupea in the north to Tacapes in the south was dotted with towns, some of them highly prosperous. The soil of the country near them was often productive. But further inland was a great elevated plateau, with little water and a climate cold in winter and droughty in summer. It was on the whole an uninviting region and few cities existed in it before the Roman era. The southern edge of this plateau is fringed by great salt lagoons, almost dry in summer, and a line of lagoons extends at intervals from Tacapes on the lesser Syrtis right into Mauretania. Southward of these is desert, with a few oases.

In the Roman as in the Carthaginian period, the most populated districts were the river valleys, particularly those which have their exits near Carthage and Utica. The chief of these is the Bagradas, as the Romans called it. In Polybius its name is Makaras, which lies nearer the present designation, Mejerda. The ancient titles of some rivers of importance, the Miliana and others, are unknown. Not

only these rivers themselves, but their tributaries also, were crowned by many fine cities. The Bagradas takes its rise in the Numidian portion of the Aurasian mountains, and runs a course of about 270 miles, falling into the Mediterranean a little south of the site of ancient Utica. In the middle part of its course it runs through the 'great plains,' as they were called in ancient times. Here the land bore cereals richly, and the population, in the days of the fullest municipal development, must have been as dense as it was on the banks of the Nile. Nearly as rich was the valley of the Miliana, the mouth of which lay south of the outlet of the Bagradas. These two valleys and those connected with them, formed the great granary of the Roman capital in the imperial age. The streams to the south of these had cities on their banks, but after Hadrumetum is passed, the inland country becomes more sterile.

What may be called the river region contained a number of flourishing towns even in the time of the Carthaginian ascendency. But the beneficent operation of peace brought about a marvellous development of municipal life by the end of the first century of our era, and the force of the movement was even accelerated until the dynasty of the Severi passed away, when Africa, like the rest of the world, entered upon a time of unrest and suffering. Hamlets grew into villages, and villages into towns, which demanded and obtained the constitution of a Roman municipality or colony. In some parts the cities lay so close together that they might almost be said to have jostled one another. The territory attached to each must have been very small, and the splendour of the communities is evidence of the extraordinary wealth which was extracted from the earth. The towns were, as the remains show, no mean places, but rich in great edifices, temples, theatres, amphitheatres, baths, porticoes, triumphal arches, libraries, council houses and other public buildings. The structures devoted to public entertainments were generally much larger than was necessary for the accommodation of the citizens who created them. An inflow of

visitors was expected on occasions of public rejoicing. The relics of antiquity which explorers have unearthed in this district or described are bewildering in their number and variety, and only a few particular illustrations can be selected.

The extraordinary survival of material signs of Roman ascendency in northern Africa is, of course, to be attributed in part to the fact that the Arabs who finally submerged the Roman civilisation were no great builders of cities. The old settlements were thus often allowed to be gradually covered up and protected by the processes of nature and ready for the revealing operations of the modern investigator's spade. Considerable destruction of Roman buildings was brought about during the rule of the Byzantine emperors, after the Vandals were driven out. The stones were used partly for the construction of new defences, and sometimes for the erection of Christian churches. From the time of the Arab invasion to that of the French conquest of Algeria, a number of villages used ancient material for their construction, but no very great damage was done by the hand of man. In recent days French influence has become supreme in the old Roman province of Africa, and nowhere has the work of research been more thoroughly or more scientifically carried out than it has been there by the scholars of France. But they themselves lament that in the early days of French occupation settlers were allowed to sweep away many precious memorials of antiquity. One writer mourns a destruction which exceeds, he says, all that was ever done by the Turks in the same region. Even now, where official supervision is lacking, considerable wreckage takes place.

By the middle Bagradas lay Simitthu, close to the most celebrated quarries of 'Numidian' marble, ever in request for the palaces of Rome and Italy. The town was on a great highway which started at Carthage and traversed the valley of the Bagradas until it met the rough wooded mountain slopes. Instead of penetrating the range, it turned northwest to reach the sea at Hippo Regius (Bona). Simitthu

was also connected by road with the port of Tabraca, between Hippo Regius and Hippo Diarrhytus. The situation of the town is like that of many or most in these regions. It was built, for reasons of health, and also for the facility of procuring good water, not in the bottom of the valley but on a plateau overlooking the river. The plains along the river here, though fertile, were somewhat swampy and insalubrious. Early in the reign of Augustus the Roman municipal constitution was bestowed on the town, and before the reign was over it became a colony with the noble title 'Colonia Iulia Augusta Numidica Simitthu.' The uncouth indigenous name falls at the end of the official designation with the effect of an anticlimax, as is constantly the case in Africa. One inscription found on the spot mentions the 'birthday' (*natalis*) of the city. This was doubtless the anniversary of the day on which it began its new life either as a 'municipium' or as a 'colonia.' The town possessed notable buildings, especially a fine theatre, and temples on high ground. Water was supplied by a channel driven far into the mountain side. The crumbling remains of a great aqueduct are still to be seen. Few ancient communities were satisfied with the turbid water of a river running through plains. The story of Simitthu is the story of most of the places near by. Four or five miles farther up the valley of the Bagradas was situated Thuburnica, a not unimportant colony, where Greek inscriptions have been found. There was a 'triumphal' arch and a temple of Baal-Saturn. Six or seven miles below Simitthu was Bulla Regia, an ancient Numidian settlement, and still a free allied city in the reign of Augustus, but a little later a Roman town. It prospered to a late date in the imperial period. So with the old Numidian city of Vaga, which figured considerably in the last Carthaginian war and in the war with Jugurtha. Its site was about a dozen miles from that of Bulla Regia. It received Roman rights at the outset of the imperial régime and continued to be a wealthy trading centre to the latest age of Roman rule and even

beyond. Justinian gave it new fortifications and renamed it Theodorias, as a compliment to his consort.

Every tributary valley of the Bagradas was dotted with commonwealths of good rank. One alone contained six cities which attained to the Roman municipal status. Among them was Thugga (Dougga), now rendered famous by the recent excavations. By tributaries of the Bagradas also stood Sicca Veneria, of which we have previously spoken, and other considerable places. In the valley of the Miliana, and along its affluents, at some distance from the sea, and along other streams, cities were sprinkled over the land almost as thickly as in the country whose waters flowed into the Bagradas. Among the towns which were planted in this part of Africa, some whose ruins prove them to have been of considerable extent are still nameless, though inscriptions show them to have been ultimately Romanised. There were here some early Augustan colonies, especially Uthina and Thuburbo Maius. The ruins of Uthina are very considerable. Thuburbo Maius must have received some additional privileges, perhaps those of the 'ius Italicum,' from Commodus, for after his time it described itself as 'Colonia Iulia Aurelia Commoda Thuburbo Maius.' It might have been expected that municipalisation in this portion of the country would have been specially rapid. For some reason it was unusually slow, and important towns remained long without a Roman civic constitution, though the material civilisation introduced by Rome had apparently as much penetrating force as elsewhere. The rise to the higher municipal condition depended on a successful petition to the emperor. The conservative spirit would maintain itself to a later day in some parts than in others and would delay the presentation of a prayer for the boon. On the other hand, emperors, for reasons not now easy to divine, might incline to favour one section of a province rather than another. The problems involved in the grant of municipal privileges were not always equally easy of solution. In the more thickly peopled divisions of

the old Carthaginian dominions, the civic centres already existed for the most part with their definite 'territoria' before the Roman time. The transformation from 'civitas' to 'municipium' or 'colonia' would be comparatively simple. But to split up municipal estates and to allot portions of them to communities which had grown in importance, must often have been a difficult and delicate task.

Even in portions of northern Tunisia which are cultivated and well peopled still, the ancient population was vastly greater than the present. The French government publishes an archaeological atlas of Tunisia, on which are marked all spots where ancient ruins are known to exist. There is not far from Hippo Diarrhytus (Bizerta) a little modern town called Matter or Mateur, whose name is derived from that of a Roman settlement called 'Oppidum Mataurense' or 'Materense.' This place is not to be confused with Madaura, the city of Apuleius. Within a space which is described as no larger than that of an ordinary French arrondissement, five hundred ruins are marked on the map. Most of these are of course relics of scattered habitations, villas or farms, or of small aggregates of houses; walls, towers, and other defences; structures for the storage and distribution of water; columns, mosaics, and the like. But there are debris of towns, some of which occupied sites half a mile across. For several of them no names have been recovered. Two only are known. One called Thubba became a colony about the middle of the second century. The other described itself as 'Chiniava peregrinorum,' indicating a settlement of non-Romans whose origin was probably composite. The account which has been given of this little area might be paralleled in connexion with many similar areas in north Africa. It has been estimated by a French savant that over a considerable part of the old territory of Carthage there was an organised town for every ten thousand hectares of land on the average.

If we look at a region to the south of Sicca Veneria, where the land was not so rich, we find cities separated by

distances which seem but small, considering the present state of the country. A dozen miles south-east of Sicca was Lares, from which Marius started on his great march to Capsa. Lares was one of Hadrian's titular colonies. Continuing for another dozen miles in the same direction, a traveller would come to Assuras, of which we have already made mention. It was a Roman municipality in the earlier part of the Augustan period, and a colony before its conclusion. Similar stages separated Assuras from Althiburus, on the south-west, and Althiburus from Ammaedara, and Ammaedara from Thala in one direction and from Theveste in another. All these places were considerable, and were or became Roman town commonwealths. The history of Ammaedara resembles that of not a few ancient African towns. Veterans were sent to the spot by a Flavian emperor, and their colony was entitled 'Colonia Flavia Augusta Aemerita (*sic*) Ammaedara.' It strode across a great road running from Carthage to Theveste, and stood by the entrance to a mountain gorge which led to this latter city. The remains of Ammaedara show that it was laid out in camp fashion, like Aosta and most other cities which were colonies from the outset. But towns of artificial regularity were not common in the African dominions of Rome, because few arose in the Roman age on unoccupied sites. The walls of Ammaedara were pierced by four gates. There still survive two great ruined arches. Through one passed the grand route from Carthage to Theveste, while the other spanned a road leading to the oasis and city of Capsa. There are also remains of a theatre and other public structures, with two great sepulchral monuments of a kind common in Africa. A citadel of the age of Justinian built, like a great number of others belonging to the same period, of materials taken from the city, is still in good preservation. Relics of four Christian basilicas, diverted from earlier pagan use, have been found. The earliest of these followed the lines of Trajan's basilica in Rome. In the year 411 there was in Ammaedara a Catholic bishop, and a bishop of the

rival Donatist persuasion. The territory of the town must have been large, as villages at some distance were inhabited by its citizens. In estimating the extent of the 'territoria' of African cities, it must be remembered that between the domains of the towns often lay those of 'civitates,' which either did not adopt a regular municipal constitution or only accepted it at a very late period. Thus close to Uchi Maius, in a thickly inhabited district, there was a 'civitas Bencennensis,' and little more than three miles from Dougga (Thugga) a 'civitas Geumitanorum.'

Wonderful as was the development of the civic commonwealth in the more civilised parts of the old domain of Carthage, under the stimulating government of Rome, still more impressive was the progress made in regions where the way had not been prepared by her predecessor. To the south, in the direction of the Aurasian range, and to the east, towards the borders of Tripoli, the Romans dealt with stretches of country where nature had been more niggardly, and where advance could only be made by strenuous effort. In these districts military occupation went hand in hand with agriculture and commerce. The study of the Roman administration in this part of the African province shows in the most striking manner the service which the Roman soldier could render to civilisation. The history of the portions of the province with which we now have to deal is to a large extent the history of a single legion of the army, that which was called the 'Legio Tertia Augusta,' the Third Augustan Legion. It remained in the province from the time of Augustus, with one small interruption, to the end of the third century. The first standing camp of this corps was at Theveste, at the foot of the Aurasian chain, at the eastern end of its southern extension. From the military point of view the position was admirably chosen. From this centre the force was enabled to operate in such a way as to bar the routes which led from the desert through mountain passes and on to the settled country beyond. The first work of the legion was to open up and secure lines of

communication between the camp and the coast to the north and east. Theveste was early connected with Hadrumetum which, both as city and as seaport, was second only to Carthage in the Roman age, though Utica held that rank earlier. This great artery of commercial and military life formed a notable dividing line between two sections of the province. To the north of it was land somewhat mountainous and comparatively fertile; to the south a more or less arid country, little cultivated when the Romans entered it. Half the distance between Hadrumetum and Theveste had to be traversed before a settlement of any great size was reached, at Sufetula. Roman remains exist at several intervening places, especially Aquae Regiae and Masclianae. About halfway between Hadrumetum and Aquae Regiae was established in the seventh century by the Moslem conquerors their great city of Kairouan. It was in a country where considerable relics of Roman occupation were still to be seen. Aquae Regiae was connected by road with Thysdrus, a place of considerable magnitude to the north, and not far from the sea. The remnants of this ancient city are of great extent; the public buildings were on a grand scale. Sufetula also reached a high level of prosperity, as the wreckage of its buildings still demonstrates. It lay above a small river, which runs dry in summer. The desolate surroundings at the present day render the arcades of an aqueduct all the more imposing. The place had a noteworthy history. It was a colony by the end of the second century. Like many of the African towns, it was fortified afresh by the Byzantine conquerors in the sixth century, and their citadel is still in evidence. In the seventh century Sufetula was defended in vain against the Arabian invaders by Gregory the prefect of Africa; and Arab historians had wondrous tales to tell of the wealth which the conquerors acquired. The name Sufetula deserves notice. It seems to be a diminutive from Sufes, the designation of another place on a road connecting Sufetula with the richer and more thickly settled parts to the north. Sufes and Sufetula must

have been parts of a single community; then the territory was divided between the two places, both becoming in the end Roman municipalities. Sufes and Thala to the west of it were at first military posts. Further along the great highway from Hadrumetum to Theveste was Cillium. The history of this place presents much that is of interest. It became a colony, possibly in the time of the Flavian emperors; certainly before the middle of the following century. The site is still marked by fine remains, including those of a great 'triumphal' arch. But the most striking building is a great mausoleum in three stories, almost comparable with the splendid mausolea of the Numidian and Mauretanian kings, which have been described before. The man who erected this monument, mainly in honour of his father, was a certain T. Flavius Iucundus. He inscribed upon it two elaborate metrical records in Latin, doubtless written to his order by a professional poet. One consists of ninety hexameter lines; the other of twenty elegiac verses. Moral reflexions are mingled with great boastings about the magnificence of the structure itself, which is said to surpass the Colossus at Rome (the statue of Nero which was turned into an effigy of the Sun-god and gave its name to the Coliseum); also to outshine the obelisk in the Roman circus and the great Pharos at the mouth of the Nile. The poet has selected somewhat strangely the marvels with which he compares his patron's erection. Roman Africa is the great land of Latin verse inscriptions, which will be found gathered together in the first volume of Bücheler's 'Anthologia Latina.'

M. Toutain has sketched the history of Cillium, as indicated by the evidence of inscriptions. Though his outline is a little imaginative, it illustrates well the growth of many Roman municipalities in this region. The founder of the family for which the huge mausoleum at Cillium was built, was T. Flavius Iucundus. He may have been one of the original settlers at Thelepte, a colony founded by Trajan's order, of which we must speak presently. It lay to the south of Cillium. Settling in its territory he provided a

water supply for his holding and planted vines, and when he died he left a considerable property. His son of the same name (who raised the mausoleum) was a great man in Thelepte, and held a priesthood there. As the country around the family estate prospered, a gathering of people, partly natives who had been induced to take to a settled life, formed a village at Cillium. A barrage across a neighbouring river provided water for the farmer and the householder, and the place developed until it claimed successfully from the emperor the rank of a colony and was endowed with a domain carved out of that of Thelepte. Two inscriptions, found at the great military camp of Lambaesis, describe two soldiers who began their service about 173 as natives of Cillium. This town therefore reached the colonial status at least as early as the middle of the century.

The history of the places lying along the great road from Hadrumetum to Theveste supplies vivid indications of the extraordinary effect of the Roman occupation in developing the country, but the indications will be found to be still more astonishing as we proceed farther afield. At some time in Trajan's reign the region near Theveste had become so far peaceful that the Third Legion left the place, and it became a purely civil town. Indeed no trace of the military occupation has survived on the site. There is strong reason to think that the municipality was set going by the Legion itself before its departure, and that the earliest public buildings were constructed by the soldiers' hands, or under their supervision, and probably at the cost of the imperial exchequer. The imposing remains at Theveste (now Tebessa) have been thoroughly explored and described by French scholars. The town, like many others, suffered from the Byzantine conquest. A great fortress of that period, constructed out of ancient materials, is in large part extant, and portions of a Byzantine monastery have been unearthed. A noble temple of Minerva is to be seen almost in its original condition. Two arches of the age of Septimius Severus or Caracalla were incorporated with the Byzantine fortress. Altogether, Theveste

must have been a fine specimen of a Roman town which started in life as a military settlement.

When the Legion migrated westward along the slope of the Aurasian mountains it took another station for a short time, probably at Mascula, and finally about 123 A.D. settled at Lambaesis, near the western end of the range. Like Theveste, Mascula became a civil commonwealth soon after the garrison had left it, and acquired the colonial title. At Lambaesis the Legion remained until the new military organisation was established by Diocletian. But there was one gap of fifteen years in its existence. During the dissensions by which the empire was rent, the Legion usually had the good fortune to espouse the winning cause ere it was too late. At the time of the commotions which ended in the elevation of an African born emperor, Septimius Severus, to the throne, the corps acquired for itself the title 'Pia Vindex,' as other legions did at different times. But when the Gordians were declared emperors in Africa, and the Legion became involved, it was disbanded, and even its memory was degraded, for its name was erased from most of the official inscriptions. At a fort on the edge of the desert, near the extreme limit of the Roman occupation in this direction, far to the south-west of Lambaesis, there was discovered an altar dedicated in 253 to "Victoria Augusta" by a detachment "of the reconstituted Third Augustan Legion." The men describe themselves as having come back from Raetia to Gemellae, which is the name of the fortress. The structure is particularly well preserved, and is interesting on account of the graffiti and caricatures scrawled on the barrack walls by the soldiers. Veterans of the disbanded corps seem to have aided Valerian in his claim to the throne; and as a reward the Legion was reconstituted, and settled again at its old headquarters, with the new appellation 'Iterum Pia, Iterum Fidelis.' After it was removed from Lambaesis by Diocletian it still remained in Africa for a time.

The exploration of the camp at Lambaesis and of the region commanded by it has enabled scholars to present a

clearer picture than can be drawn from any other material, on the one hand of the camp life of the Roman soldier, on the other of the part played by the legions in the control and development of the empire. When the French first entered Lambaesis, the details were clearer than now; for a great angle of the camp is occupied by a new building used as a penitentiary. The purely military activities of the Roman soldier lie beyond the limits of our subject. I will only mention here one of the structures of the camp at Lambaesis which subserved a military purpose, the Praetorium. Its relics are hardly to be matched in the whole range of the ancient dominions of Rome. A large part of its walls as reconstructed in 268 after destruction by earthquake, are still on the ground. One can understand from looking at them why Josephus should have said that the Praetorium of a Roman camp was "like a temple." On its face the Praetorium at Lambaesis bore some of the usual adornments of a shrine, pilasters and columns. It was indeed in the eyes of the soldiers a sacred place, where things which they venerated had their abode. There were kept the emblems of the corps, among them the eagles, "the Roman birds, the peculiar divinities of the Roman legions." These are the words which Germanicus, in a page of Tacitus, applies to a flight of real eagles, and they express the feeling of the soldier for the material representations of the birds. There also were the images of the emperor and other imperial personages. The erring legionary naturally took sanctuary if he could in the presence of these hallowed things. On its social side, the life of the soldier resembled not a little the life of the citizen, and it will be not amiss if we say something of it, as it is revealed by the ruins and records of Lambaesis. The elaborate character of the 'thermae' (here as elsewhere within the circuit of the camp) would have excited the horror of old Fabius or old Cato. In them not only comfort but artistic decoration was elaborated. Among the adornments are two sculptured figures; one of a young male, crowned with rays, the other of a female with a diadem, and beside

her a crescent. These, by whatever names they were called in the Roman age, were the old Punic divinities, Baal and Tanit, who never lost their popularity in Roman Africa. The water supply was well contrived. At a point on the mountain slope where the produce of springs was collected a shrine was built and dedicated to Neptune. A building for receiving the water had the name 'septizonium.' Both these structures were of the age of Pius or Marcus Aurelius. The title 'septizonium' was attached to a more famous erection of the reign of Septimius Severus in Rome.—

Some edifices of which inscriptions give the record bore the name 'scola,' which is a title for a club-house or place of reunion for voluntary associations (*collegia*). Here the societies were military and composed of under-officers, who were permitted in the camp that privilege of organising social groups which belonged to the citizens of the municipalities. It would seem that these are a growth from the new policy inaugurated by Septimius Severus, whereby the soldier on service acquired, in a certain sense, a civil capacity, even before his release. The earliest building in the camp not devoted to strictly military purposes is not of earlier date than 198. As at Theveste, and many other places, an amphitheatre outside the walls was an appurtenance of the camp. It may be noted that the corps constructed for itself all the buildings which appertained to its life. Among the records the most interesting is an inscription which preserves an address made to the soldiers by Hadrian when he visited the place. The emperor states that the commander has informed him of numerous services performed by this corps. He then praises in rather elaborate language not only the legionaries proper, but also the regular auxiliary forces attached to them. The long speech is full of interest. Little else is known of the visit of Hadrian to Africa. His biographer states that he conferred many benefits on the country. Two towns have left behind them inscriptions in which he is styled their founder (*conditor*). But this was a bit of flattery often bestowed on rulers who had never visited the towns

concerned, and generally meant nothing more than the bestowal of municipal privilege.

Nowhere can the effect of the changes in the army system introduced by Septimius Severus be more clearly discerned than at Lambaesis. The usual civil settlement (*canabae*) sprang up near the camp, a clear space being left between the two for military reasons. When the ordinance of Septimius Severus permitted the soldier to live a family life in the 'canabae,' merely resorting to the camp for reasons of service, the town-settlement naturally increased in importance. The town may have had a civic constitution even earlier. The buildings which were distinctive of a regular municipality were raised in it mainly by the soldiers' own hands. Outside the town on the road between it and the camp stood an arch, of the kind usually called 'triumphal.' It had three openings, and was dedicated to Septimius Severus. Among the notable edifices at Lambaesis is a small temple of Aesculapius, which like such temples in other towns of the ancient world served some of the uses of a modern hospital. The approach to the temple was bordered by a number of subordinate small shrines. In one of these was discovered a mosaic with an inscription which has been often quoted. In the middle field, surrounded by a fringe of flowers, are the words "bonus intra, melior exi," "enter good, depart better."

The most wonderful city which has been explored in Africa is Thamugadi (now Timgad), on the road between Theveste and Lambaesis. It has often been called 'the African Pompeii.' Indeed competent judges have given the opinion that the ruins of Pompeii do not set before the spectator such an illuminating picture of life in the ancient Roman world as is presented by the remains of Thamugadi. The town was of course more purely Roman than Pompeii. Like all the towns created by Rome or reorganised in the West during the Roman age, it strove to be a replica of the great capital, a 'pusilla Roma.' At first it was probably a military post of minor importance, one of many built by the

Legion and garrisoned by its detachments, in order to check raids carried through the mountain passes by the nomad tribes from the south. In the year 100 A.D. it suddenly bloomed into a Roman colony. An extant inscription informs us that by order of Trajan the Third Augustan Legion constructed all the buildings required for the regular Roman town. A very similar inscription relates that the Legion also built another colonial town near it, which bore the name of Verecunda. Probably the origin of Lambiridi, near by, which was a 'municipium' in the third century, was similar. If our records were more complete, they would doubtless tell us about other like achievements of this wonder-working corps. At first the colony of Thamugadi, like others of sudden creation, was enclosed by quadrangular walls like a permanent camp. But in course of time assured peace rendered the fortifications unnecessary, and the colony spread beyond them, and obliterated them. A regular 'territorium' was assigned to the new municipality, and its citizens were drawn, we may suppose, partly from Italian farmers in the neighbourhood, partly from veterans, and perhaps in part from enfranchised natives. The subsequent history of the community thus suddenly called into existence was notable. Even when the Byzantines landed in Africa to crush the Vandals in the sixth century, the city was prosperous and populous. But the arrival of the Byzantines was fatal to it. The mountaineers came down and destroyed it, and the Greek army found it damaged and deserted. Out of the stones of the city the invaders constructed a fortress to hold the wilder tribes in check. The numerous citadels and fortresses built by the Greek army, of which remains exist in Africa, convey a strong impression of the vigour and effectiveness of the Byzantine conquest.

The principal street of Thamugadi, the 'decumanus maximus,' running east and west, was part of the great military road which connected Theveste with Lambaesis. Where it met the city walls on the western side there was an ornamental gate. It was here that the record was found

stating that the "colonia Marciana Thamugadi" owed its foundation to Trajan in the year 100, and was constructed by the Legio Tertia Augusta, whose commander at the time was L. Munatius Gallus. A similar gate stood at the point on the east where the road passed out of the city; and two like portals marked the entrance and exit of the other main street, the 'cardo maximus.' Arches of the kind, commonly regarded as 'triumphal,' though many of them are obviously unconnected with imperial triumphs, abounded in Roman Africa, as many existed elsewhere. Those by which cities were approached were often not built into the walls, but stood at some distance outside them. But precisely similar arches within the towns formed approaches to fora, temples, or porticoes. In their forms, the African examples follow Italian patterns, like the arches of Titus and Constantine in Rome, and those of Trajan at Ariminum and Beneventum. The arches outside cities, through which the approaching roads ran, have been thought to be distinctive marks of the colonial status, but the evidence for this opinion is not clear.

The forum at Thamugadi was constructed very much on Roman lines, as was the case in Africa generally. By the time when the new city was founded it had become the custom all the empire over to crowd the forum with statues, especially of emperors and their families, and of distinguished citizens, particularly those who had benefited their 'native land' (*patria*), as it was customary to call the town of a man's birth. Thamugadi was no exception to the rule. A number of inscriptions, glorifying the persons thus commemorated, have been recovered, and they are often amusing from the simplicity of their flattery. One of the most interesting tells how Sertius and his wife Valentina equipped the forum afresh in a noble manner. It so happens that their house has been revealed by excavation, and it is a fine example of a Roman dwelling, worthy to be compared with the best at Pompeii. One very noteworthy inscription unearthed in the forum at Thamugadi was cut on the basis

of a statue of Marsyas, who entered into a musical contest with Apollo, and was stripped of his skin by the god. There was a famous statue of this Satyr or Silenus close to the praetor's tribunal in the Roman forum, and for this reason it was imitated in the provinces as an emblem of local liberty and a sign that a town had received Roman privileges. The statue of Marsyas is figured on coins issued by some colonies, but does not seem to belong exclusively to towns with the colonial privilege. The common statement that it marked the 'ius Italicum' hardly accords with fact. It was especially frequent in the Graeco-Oriental towns, and was adopted by such places as Palmyra and Bostra when they became titularly Roman.

While the Marsyas statue was copied mainly on the eastern side of the empire, imitations of the Roman Capitol belong entirely to the west. The characteristic Roman state worship of Jupiter 'best and greatest' (*Optimus Maximus*), combined with that of Juno and Minerva, centred in the Capitoline temple, was not congenial to cities whose ideals were Athens, Pergamon and Alexandria, rather than Rome. The only city on the eastern side of the Roman dominions endowed with a 'Capitolium' was Constantinople. Some Greek towns, however, paid homage to a Zeus who had for an epithet 'the Capitoline' (Καπετώλιος). But the Roman Capitol was reproduced in many cities of Italy and of the western provinces. Remains or indications of a number of 'Capitolia' have been discovered in Roman Africa. Usually an elevated site was selected to be crowned by the temple. At Thamugadi it stood on rising ground abutting on the original city wall. Despite the ruin caused by the Byzantines, when they built their citadel, a fair idea can be formed of its imposing character. The celebrated explorer, M. Cagnat, says of it: "Le Capitole de Timgad est un monument remarquable par ses dimensions et par sa majesté; véritable œuvre romaine par la masse de l'édifice et la grandeur des détails d'architecture, comme aussi par la richesse un peu lourde de l'ornementation." Remains of

another African 'Capitolium' of particular interest exist at Dougga, the ancient Thugga, a town lying to the north-east of Sicca Veneria and south of Thubursicum Bure. The temple at Thugga presents a great contrast with that of Thamugadi. It is distinguished by elegance and delicacy rather than by massiveness. An inscription states that two citizens erected the temple at their own cost, in honour of Jupiter best and greatest and of Minerva the Augustan divinity (*Minervae Augustae*), and for the safety (*salutis*) of the emperors Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus Augustus and Lucius Verus, conquerors of Armenia, Media and Parthia. The omission of one of the three divinities of the Roman Capitol is not without parallel and the attachment of the epithet 'Augustan' to a divinity is almost universal in African inscriptions. A still more remarkable 'Capitolium' is that of Sufetula (now Sbeitla), in the centre of Tunisia, and one of the more southern of the Roman cities, which has been previously mentioned. A great rectangular court, about eighty-five yards by a hundred, was entered by a fine archway with three openings, and surrounded by porticoes; at the end of it were three temples placed side by side with small intervals, each of which was probably dedicated to one of the three Capitoline deities, though the assumption has been disputed. The central temple, devoted to Jupiter, was of larger dimensions than the two which were assigned to his companion divinities, Juno and Minerva. Traces of other 'Capitolia' in Africa have been found. One at Segermes, a town on an oasis near the eastern coast, to the south of Neapolis, was planted on the level, instead of dominating the city from a height.

The other buildings at Thamugadi present many features of very great interest. Entirely Italic is the temple of the Genius of the city, with which were associated statues of other divinities imported from Italy. One of the only two library buildings that have ever been discovered on ancient sites in the provinces of the empire has been found at Thamugadi. The other has recently been excavated by the Austrians at

Ephesus. A record shows that the edifice was constructed with money left by a citizen of Thamugadi. The cost is given at 400,000 sesterces. A curious rough calculation has been made from indications which the ruins afford, that accommodation was provided for about 23,000 volumes. Of the other abounding amenities of Thamugadi there is not space to say much. Some of the private houses are as attractive as those of Pompeii. Water was freely used. As yet no fewer than twelve sets of baths, large and small, have been uncovered. One bath deserves especial mention. It was attached to a factory and was apparently designed for the use of the operatives. Before we leave Thamugadi it may be observed that its climate, like that of the mountain slopes generally along which ran the road from Theveste to Lambaesis, was quite rigorous in winter.

A road which did much for the security of southern Tunisia, and for the development of the country, was that which led to Theveste from Tacapes, a great trading place on the coast with an oasis of fertile land about it. An extant inscription relates that it was engineered by the ever-present Third Augustan Legion, under the command of its legate L. Nonius Asprenas, in the first year of the reign of Tiberius. The camp at Theveste is described as "the winter quarters of the Legion." An unwonted feature in this road was that it contained a number of un-Roman bends, not necessitated by the nature of the ground over which it passed. This highway was of the first importance during the prolonged warfare against Tacfarinas in the time of Tiberius. When he was crushed, the country through which it ran became peaceful, and the forts built along it were disused. The line of defence was then transferred to the edge of the desert to the south. On leaving Tacapes (Gabès) the road of Tiberius took a north-western direction until it reached Capsa, a town under Numidian rule which figured greatly in the Jugurthine war, when it suffered destruction. Strabo calls it the "treasure city of Jugurtha." It must have risen from its ashes, for not long after the Roman

road reached it, the town entered the ranks of the Roman municipalities and later became a colony. The settlement which is now on the site has retained nearly the old name (Gafsa), and is built out of the ruins of the ancient town. Farther on was Thelepte, a veteran colony of Trajan's foundation. Unfortunately, though vast ruins are visible here, the place suffered so severely during the Byzantine occupation that its history cannot be recovered. In addition to the great roads which have just been described, other important highways left the coast at points between Hadrumetum and Tacapes. One ran from Thenae to Sufetula; another started from a spot south of Thenae and went through to Cillium. The town of Thenae itself was of considerable extent. There is at the place a vast necropolis, which was found, when examined in our day, to have been already plundered by the Vandals.

There is strong evidence that all the inland towns planted on these routes grew and flourished, mainly because of the extraordinary impulse which the Roman occupation gave to agriculture. As the cities gained in importance fresh roads were constructed connecting them with the sea and with each other. A great area of country which had been hardly occupied by sedentary inhabitants before the Roman conquest was cultivated and peopled. When Marius passed in his nine days' march from Lares to Capsa, he met only nomad people. During the last three days his force encountered neither water, nor food, nor inhabitants. The land is just as desolate to-day as it was then; yet it was in part densely peopled after the Romans had thoroughly subdued it. For example, between Thelepte and Capsa was a station called Gemellae, a favourite name in Africa. There was here what we rarely find in the province, a flourishing local industry, the making of pottery. All around is now desert. In Roman times the soil was closely cultivated. A French explorer says: "Les ruines de bourgs, de villages, de fermes isolées, les vestiges de travaux hydrauliques s'y rencontrent à chaque pas." For the most part the landscape where

Cillium, Thelepte, Capsa and Sufetula were situated exhibits now nothing better than rough grass and scrub, and the principal feature is sand. The evidence is clear that the prosperity of the Roman imperial time was due to the planting of olive trees, by which large tracts now barren were covered. One of the Arab historians declares that when the Moslems took possession, it was possible to travel in the shade and to find a line of villages all the way from Tripoli to Tangier. An Arab geographer of the eleventh century states that he found in the district of Capsa more than two hundred prosperous communities, well peopled and with plenty of water. Modern explorers have described the settlements in the tract of which we have been speaking as almost innumerable. M. Tissot, the great authority on African geography, counted in a space of thirty-four kilomètres between Cillium and Sufetula, without wandering from his road, remains of 130 separate agricultural establishments. Other explorers have observed hundreds of ruins in this very section of the province. It may be mentioned that the culture of the olive lends itself rather to farming on a large than on a small scale.

What is the secret of the marvellous contrast in this part of the world between the imperial Roman age on the one hand, and the age of Marius and our own on the other? The problem affects many other sections of the Roman possessions in Africa as well as the section with which we are now dealing. The favourite solution used to be that the climate has undergone a serious change. But that explanation is obviously unsuitable to southern Tunisia, and the investigations of French savants have rendered it impossible of acceptance with regard to other districts. There can be no doubt that the Roman treatment of the water supply made all the difference. Wherever the Romans went, their engineers employed every possible device to catch and store all the water that flowed down valleys, many of them dry for great part of the year, or fell from the sky. Barrages were made across rivers and huge reservoirs constructed;

vaulted cisterns prevented wastage by the summer heat; aqueducts were freely built, not only for towns and villages but for single farmsteads; and runlets fertilised the soil. In innumerable places where rain and streams are now allowed to lose themselves in the sand, the precious moisture was saved. It is not surprising to find that in the region about Sufetula, Thala, and Maktar, Neptune, god of waters, was specially honoured, as he was in other dry districts. A large part of southern Tunisia was once described by a traveller as "the region of reservoirs." In many spots the French are restoring the old Roman works, with the result that the ancient fertility is beginning to reappear, and the cultivation of the olive is being pushed by settlers as of old. Before leaving this subject, I may mention one remarkable illustration of the signal difference which the Roman handling of water could make. Near the coast a good way north of Hadrumetum and to the south of Neapolis, was a great Roman town called Segermes. It was a fine city with splendid public buildings and baths of great extent, supplied by huge reservoirs. In the period of the Antonines it must have enjoyed great prosperity. Yet recently when French scholars examined the site they were greatly hampered by the necessity of carrying with them over a great distance supplies not only of food but of water.

Before passing on I will mention an interesting attempt made by M. Bourde to estimate the population of some ancient towns on the eastern side of Tunisia when they attained their greatest development. The city of Thysdrus, almost due south of Hadrumetum, a great centre of radiating roads, situated in a fairly rich district at some distance from the coast, was planned on a large scale. Splendid remains exist of an amphitheatre, and relics of a circus, theatre, and other structures. A notable inscription records how a magistrate introduced into the city so abundant a supply of water that it could be freely distributed in the streets from fountains, and laid on to houses "on certain terms" (*certa condicione*). The inhabitants may have numbered

100,000. Sufetula is set down as having a population of from 20,000 to 25,000 (a low estimate); Thelepte as containing 50,000 to 60,000 people; Cillium about 12,000. It must be remembered that these reckonings regard merely the spaces within the cities, whereas the citizens were scattered through the civic territories.

To the southward of the region which we have been considering the country has as yet been but imperfectly explored. But Roman forts, forming parts of defensive lines, planted on favourable sites, have been discovered, some of them still well preserved. Around these in many cases are numerous indications of a civil population. An important military post called Turris Tamalleni was situated almost due west of Tacapes and south of Capsa, and roads ran from it to both these places. The oasis in which it stood has a name 'Telmin,' derived from the second part of the ancient designation, while an Arab village, built out of the materials of the Roman settlement, is denoted as 'Torrah,' from Turris. In this unpromising spot, close to the great salt lagoon known as 'Palus Tritonis,' arose a town which Hadrian deemed worthy of municipal honours. A recent discovery shows that there was a native 'civitas' called 'civitas Nygbensium,' which was replaced by Hadrian's 'municipium.' Its name appears on a milestone of the age of Trajan. We are forced to wonder whether there was already a kernel of Italic immigrants in this remote situation, whether Hadrian imported settlers, or whether a prevalently native community was suddenly turned into a commonwealth of Italic fashion. Still farther west, between this lagoon and the next, was a narrow neck of land which might allow marauders from the desert to make their way to the richer districts of the north. In small oases on this neck were erected three forts, and round them groups of cultivators dwelt. An inscription of Nerva's reign mentions a 'castellus Thigensium,' whose inhabitants were evidently civilians. To the east of 'Turris Tamalleni' again there was a series of forts which joined another series marking an inland route that connected Tacapes with the

Tripolitan towns. Here and there great ruins exist, signs of a considerable population apart from the garrisons. At a place called Ksar-Koutin the French investigators report a "vaste agglomération urbaine, mur d'enceinte, forum, théâtre, mausolée, conduites, citernes, puits." Far to the south, oases were held in military occupation at the period of the Severi. Some were visited as early as 19 B.C. by Balbus, a general who led an expedition against the desert tribes. In one of them (Bondjem) a fine fortification is still extant.

Between Tacapes and Sabrata, on or near the sea, Romanised towns of some consequence existed. One of these was Gigthi, of which in recent years a most interesting exploration has been made by M. Gauckler. The inscribed stones here unearthed indicate in a marked manner the survival of the Punic language. Even some honorific records of municipal grandees are couched in it, though such memorials are almost universally in Latin. The forum of this remote municipality, with its attendant buildings, is an attractive specimen of ancient town architecture, comparable with the best in Africa. An important inscription has already been mentioned. It records that a citizen had twice at his own cost undertaken journeys to Rome, and had thereby procured for it the "greater Latin privileges" (*Latium maius*). North of Gigthi is a small peninsula, which has ruins thickly scattered over it. Here was a seaport with well built harbour, made for a considerable commerce, only about fifteen miles in a straight line from Gigthi. Its name has not as yet come to light. Gigthi is on a bay at whose extremities are two narrow straits separating from the mainland an island called Meninx (Djerbal). On it are remains of fine structures ("véritables palais"). Farther east was a place bearing the title of 'Pons Zita.' It had a citadel, and a forum fringed by porticoes and basilica. A building near the forum was dedicated to the emperor Claudius in the year after his succession (42 A.D.). Still farther on was the 'municipium Pisida.'

In the region lying near the Tripolitan cities the Roman occupation, so far as has yet appeared, produced but little

change. But everywhere on the borders of the African domain of Rome, important discoveries doubtless remain to be made. The general policy hereabouts was to protect the coast districts by defensive works inland, and especially by garrisoning the oases, for the security of the internal trade to and from the sea. We have little information about the municipal annals of the Tripolitan cities. Leptis Magna was gazetted as a colony by Trajan, and received the 'Italian rights' (*ius Italicum*) from its most distinguished citizen, Septimius Severus. According to Sallust, the laws and civilisation of Leptis at the time of the Jugurthine war were still Punic, though the prevalent language was 'Numidian,' owing to intermarriage between the Punic colonists and the natives. But it seems that there was a strong Greek element in the place, and Punic was still used to a late date. As a result of much Greek immigration, the inhabitants set up a legend which is reflected by the poet Silius Italicus, that the city was of Greek foundation. In the fourth century it had suffered at the hands of the inland tribes and Jerome describes it as "half barbarian" (*semibarbara*). Like many another African city it flourished again under the fostering care of Justinian. A singular and almost unexampled incident occurred early in Vespasian's reign. Occasion being given by the disorganisation consequent upon Nero's death, Leptis and Oea waged war against each other. Oea, the weaker combatant, called in the aid of the barbaric Garamantes. The commandant of the Third Augustan Legion quieted the disturbance as easily as Virgil's farmer quells the bees, "pulveris exigui iactu." Many towns in the empire burned with animosity against each other, and were only kept from hostilities by *force majeure*. When civil war broke out they were able to give rein to their passion, and rival cities often seized the opportunity to range themselves on opposite sides. As Mommsen remarks, the conflict between Septimius Severus and Pescennius Niger in Bithynia was in essence a war carried on by the two jealous capitals of the province, Nicaea and Nicomedia, against each other. Roman rights

were accorded to Oea and Sabrata not later than the middle of the second century. In literary history, Leptis and Sabrata are notably connected with the life of Apuleius. He married Pudentilla, a native of Leptis, and resided there, becoming perhaps the most prominent citizen of the day. His famous trial for sorcery was held at Sabrata. Oea, like Leptis, must have had a Greek population, which fact led Silius Italicus to call it a Sicilian colony, and perhaps its inhabitants made that claim.

If we return to the frontier regions of the African province farther west, we shall find fresh and striking evidence of the civilising power of Roman rule, and of its great instrument, the noble Third Augustan Legion. The chains of forts protecting exposed valleys, or encircling mountains that might afford dangerous advantage to an invader, led to peaceful settlements which grew and blossomed into Roman towns. We can only take a few examples out of many. In an oasis to the west of Capsa and to the south of Theveste there was a station named 'Ad Maiores.' On the site are remains of a Roman town of good period, not unworthy to be ranked with Lambaesis. Its inscriptions go back to the age of Trajan. The country round about is now almost entirely barren. But in the imperial age it was rendered in large part productive, by the growing of the olive. Between Theveste and Ad Maiores "a fine city, well built" has been described by explorers. Not far away are the relics of a much more extensive place, which seems not to have been greatly subjected to Roman influence. In neither case has a name been revealed. A settlement, familiar to travellers of the present day as Biskra, the ancient Bescera, lay in an oasis on the southern border of the Algerian province of Constantine. Here was a Roman station, with a fortress on one side of a valley and a town on the other. Even in this wild district there were amphitheatres and other amenities of civilised life, primarily for the enjoyment of the soldiers. The country population cannot have been dense, but abodes for agricultural purposes are traceable far to the southward of Biskra.

The region immediately to the west of Lambaesis, whose modern name is the 'Batna,' is covered with remains. South-west of Lambaesis was Thubunae (Tobna), the centre of a district that was fully exploited by tillers of the ground. Westward of the 'Batna' lies the desolate stretch called the 'Hodna,' and still farther on are the deserts to the south of Mauretania. From Lambaesis a great highway stretched north-westward and communicated with important places in Numidia and ran on through Mauretania. The frontier post stood at Zarai, the limit in this direction of the area for which the Third Augustan Legion was responsible. Zarai became a Roman town, of which considerable remains have survived. About 213 A.D. it ceased to be garrisoned, probably because the land round about had become peaceful, though it was still exposed to occasional raids from the desert. The district between Lambaesis and Zarai has preserved many traces of communities founded by veteran soldiers, who turned to agriculture after their service was over. Some of these became sufficiently important to be invested with civic privileges. One was Casae (a common name in the provinces), another Diana Veteranorum, a 'municipium' as early as Trajan's reign, whose site is still marked by remnants of its ancient state. Its modern name Zana is a slight modification of Diana.

From Zarai two great routes ran into Mauretania, one proceeding in a north-westerly direction, and passing through the important city of Sitifis, the other taking a southerly line. Both roads met at Auzia (Aumale in Algeria). They ran through districts which were to a large extent occupied by estates of the emperors, of which we shall have to speak later. Sitifis was one of a group of cities properly Numidian, but included within the boundaries of Mauretania Caesareensis. When the provinces were subdivided by Diocletian, Sitifis became the capital of a section called Mauretania Sitifensis. It was the centre of a great system of communications, and was connected with several points on the coast. The plain around was rich, and Sitifis became a prosperous Roman

colony. The agricultural population, especially to the south-east, was comparatively dense. The road stretching between Sitifis and Cirta passed through Cuicul, whose importance as a Roman town is attested by numerous inscriptions and by the ruins of fine buildings. It possessed a theatre as large as that of Thamugadi, and a great arch erected in honour of Septimius Severus and his famous consort, Iulia Domna. From Sitifis to the mouth of the river Ampsaga, whose lower course is through a rugged mountainous country, Cuicul was the only important place. Between it and Cirta was Mileu, one of the colonies of Sittius, already mentioned. Part of its name, Sarnensis, was derived from the Italian river Sarnus, near the home of Sittius. The connexion between Cuicul and the Sittian towns was close. A number of other cities, originally Numidian, have left remarkable indications behind them of their condition in Roman days; but a brief mention of two or three of the most notable must suffice. At the extremity of a tributary valley of the Bagradas was situated Madaura, familiar to moderns from its connexion with Apuleius and Augustine and with the early history of the Christian church in Africa. French scholars become enthusiastic when they describe the ancient baths in which the great father of the western church may have disported himself, and the halls in which he, as well as Apuleius, may have heard lectures and themselves discoursed. Apuleius describes Madaura as "splendidissima colonia," using an epithet which is employed with frequency and latitude in municipal inscriptions generally. Though good education might be obtained at Madaura, as at a number of other towns in Roman Africa, it is an exaggeration to speak, as some have spoken, of a 'University' there. That title applies with correctness only to Carthage, whither both Apuleius and Augustine resorted for more advanced study. Thagaste, the birthplace of the great bishop of Hippo, was a Roman colony about twenty miles northward of Madaura. It was on a tributary of the Bagradas. A part of Augustine's life as a teacher was spent there. His writings show that all about this region there was a strong pagan element in his

time. About the same distance to the west was Thubursicum Numidarum, so named to distinguish it from Thubursicum Bure, not far from Thugga (Dougga). This city must have been very populous; its ruins cover much more ground than those of Thamugadi. It was only a 'civitas' in the year 100 A.D., but soon after obtained a grant of municipal honours from Trajan. Another considerable place which became a colony was Calama, about equidistant from Cirta, Madaura, and Hippo Regius. Here the French residents have built up again the ancient theatre from the stones scattered over its site, and have exhibited in it Greek plays, possibly for the first time in its history. Possidius, the friend and biographer of Augustine, was bishop of Calama.

There has been already occasion to speak of some towns on the seaboard, west of Carthage. Generally speaking, the coastal cities have preserved fewer mementoes of their ancient state than those of the interior, whose history was in most cases violently ended by the Arab invasion. At a little distance from Carthage, close to a great inlet of the sea, was Hippo Diarrhytus, so named from the abundance of the waters near it. It was still a 'free city' (*libera civitas*), in the age of Tiberius, but was transformed into a Roman town soon after. It was one of the many towns of the empire which at one time possessed dual municipal institutions. It was of no great size. An incidental mention by the younger Pliny tells that the presence in it of high officials for a short sojourn taxed its resources. The next port of any consequence was Tabraca (Tabarca), which has always enjoyed some trade down to our day. Remains of a fine aqueduct are to be seen. It was a Roman township in the Augustan period and a colony in the second century. Further on was Hippo Regius, so called from its connexion with the old Numidian princes. Next to Carthage and Hadrumetum, it was the most considerable African emporium in the imperial time. Its modern name Bona or Bône is corrupted from Hippo. The most memorable event in its history was its protracted siege by the Vandals in 430 A.D., during which the great

prelate of the city, Augustine, died. Further to the westward were ports of which mention has been already made. Rusicade (Philippeville) and Chullu (colonia Minervia Chullu), are two of the towns which were connected by Sittius with Cirta. At the mouth of the Ampsaga, the old boundary between Africa and Mauretania, stood Tucca, which had communication along one branch of the river, with Cirta, and along another with Cuicul and Mileu. The region stretching south of the line of coast from Hippo Regius to Tucca was poor in towns. Few considerable places were comprised in the triangle which would be formed by drawing a line from Lambaesis to Hippo Regius and another from Lambaesis to Tucca. To the west and north of the fertile country watered by the middle Bagradas and by its tributaries in those directions was a mountainous district, covered with dense forests and thickets. To this day it is a somewhat savage and inhospitable land. In the northern part of it dwell the Kroumirs, whose raids into Algeria provided the French with their excuse for establishing a protectorate over Tunis.

We come now to Mauretania. As has been already pointed out, the conditions of Roman supremacy here were far different from those which prevailed to the east. The strip between the sea and the desert is far narrower than in the older province, and a much larger proportion of it is covered by mountains, which were more extensively clothed with forests in ancient times than now. Still cultivation was pushed in extraordinary measure, in the more fertile plains and along river valleys. Agriculture here, however, did not, to the same extent as in Numidia and the rest of the province of Africa, create prosperous cities. This was principally because the indigenous population had not been to any great degree civilised by antecedent culture; and this again was in large part due to the wild nature of the greater part of the land. The rough mountains harboured untamable tribes, whose relation to the settled people resembled that of Highlanders to Lowlanders in Scottish history. Peaceful amalgamation such as had taken place in the eastern districts was difficult.

In Mauretania the lines of Roman forts were not confined, as in the domains which had belonged to Carthage and the Numidian kings, to the southern frontier, but ran through the country from the desert to the sea. The system of defence was greatly different. The task was not merely to keep at bay assailants from beyond the Roman possessions, but to carry on guerilla warfare at times against foes within them. The seaboard itself had to be protected from piracy by a flotilla whose headquarters were at Caesarea (Cherchel). No legions were regularly stationed in the country, though at times legions had to be sent to its succour. There were therefore no great camps like that at Theveste and later at Lambaesis. Numerous fortresses, many quite small, were scattered far and wide over the Mauretanian provinces, as along the southern border of Africa, taking Africa as that name was understood during the earlier days of the empire. Not all of these defences were regularly garrisoned. Most were intended as places of refuge for the civilised inhabitants in case of need, which they might defend till aid could reach them. The prevalence of the fortified enclosure in many parts led Pliny to say that the Africans lived mostly in 'castella.' There were many little watch-towers at small intervals, visible one from the other, obviously designed to spread by means of signalling news of an impending attack. The same purpose was served by the towers along the great Roman 'limites' on the European and Asiatic frontiers. The name 'burgus speculatorius' is given to some of these small structures in inscriptions. Even in the more thickly settled portions of Mauretania, the farms were very commonly protected against attack. The forces which defended the land were detachments drawn from the non-Roman allies. Some of these corps gave their names to the civil settlements which sprang up round about their stations. Thus on the edge of the desert was 'Cohors Breucorum,' where dwelt a regiment recruited in Illyricum from a nation which in the time of Augustus fought valiantly against Rome. Here has been found an interesting soldier's epitaph in hexameter verse. It records

that the warrior "everywhere among these mountains conquered and laid low many unspeakable foes and endured perilous wars." We have already had examples of places designated by the style of the military forces which gave rise to them. In the south-west of Mauretania a 'numerus Syrorum' gave its name to a place which developed near it. The same was the case with 'numerus Palmyrenorum' to the south of Lambaesis. In the Christian time a bishop bore the title Alamiliarensis, from Ala Miliaria, the name of a detachment round which a settlement grew up. But all the divisions of allied cavalry (*alae*) and allied infantry (*cohortes*) posted in Mauretania were insufficient for its protection. To a certain extent the Roman government departed here from the policy which it pursued in the more highly civilised provinces. Some reliance seems to have been placed on irregular corps raised in the country itself, and the peaceful inhabitants were expected to bear arms if occasion required. Without official permission the use of weapons by the civil population of the empire was of course illegal. Piteous tales are told of the dread which the towns had of defending themselves without leave from authority even when barbarians were at their gates in the latest imperial time. But these stories concern cities long peaceful, which had unlearned the art of defence. In the frontier provinces it was needful that citizens should look to their own security, and here the old theory of the city commonwealth, that its citizens constitute an army, was to some extent kept in practice. In the fundamental statute of Caesar's colony of Urso in Spain, the 'Colonia Iulia Genetiva,' there is a provision authorising the magistrates to arm and lead the citizens in case of need, and to subject them to military law. A very interesting inscription relates how the burgesses of Cartenna, a colony on the coast between Algiers and Oran, and the in-dwellers (*incolae*) made a collection, in order to erect a statue of a magistrate who had saved the city when attacked by a clan in the neighbourhood, the Baquates. Such raids must have been common enough, even in places near the sea. Not far from Oran was found an epitaph of

some men who perished by the violence of the tribe of the Bavares, dwelling near at hand.

The methods of conquest which Caesar had practised in Gaul, and Augustus in Spain and the Danubian districts were, as has been said, never applied to Mauretania. When Caligula took the country into possession, the empire was weary of the exhausting strain, of which Augustus himself had tired before his death. It was not easy for emperors like Trajan, Hadrian and their successors, who bestowed their favours abundantly on the comparatively peaceful eastern province, to further the development of the wilder Mauretanian country. About thirty places are supposed to have attained to the full municipal or colonial status and about half of these were on the coast. The advance made in colonisation was chiefly in the river valleys, and rivers of any importance are not common in the provinces of Mauretania. It has been already explained that when Augustus raised Iuba II to the throne of Mauretania, he decided to place nearly all the channels of its maritime trade in Roman control. Caesarea, the capital of Iuba's kingdom, was the only considerable seaport which was exempted. The varied populations of the coast towns must have contained a large admixture of Italian origin, and when Augustus bestowed on them the municipal or colonial title, he added Italians, sometimes civilians, but oftener old soldiers, to the inhabitants. The names of the legions from which the settlers were drawn were reflected in the official designations of some of the reconstituted communities. The known story of these places presents few matters of interest. Not far from the border town of Tucca, which was an Augustan 'municipium,' lay Igilgilis. Here was unearthed a curious inscription on a stone marking the boundary between the territory of this Augustan colony and that of a tribe called Mazices. It illustrates the fact that the less savage clans, according to the widespread Roman policy, were induced to defend tracts of country against their wilder kinsmen. Further west was situated the colony of Saldae (Bougie), a much more important place with a good harbour.

This town was organised as a colony by Augustus. Remains of an aqueduct exist, constructed by the sailors of the fleet, concerning which there is a curious inscription, found at Lambaesis. The commander there was requested to send a skilled engineer to set right the works for supplying water to the city, the levels being wrong. Why the application should have been recorded on stone, is a puzzling question. Between Saldae and Caesarea the few ports were of minor character, though several, for example Rusazus and Rusucurru, and Rusguniae, were organised as Roman townships or colonies by Augustus. Rusguniae is one of the few towns on the seaboard which have left remains of any extent behind them. Icosium, close to the modern Algiers, was never an important place under the Romans; it received Latin rights from Vespasian. The same status was conferred by Claudius on Tipasa (not to be confused with Tipasa between Sicca Veneria and Cirta), and it secured the colonial rank a century later. It was strong enough to resist the great Mauretanian chief Firmus when he sacked Caesarea and Icosium, in the fourth century. Further westward were some considerable communities, Gunugi, where Augustus planted veterans of the Guard, and Cartenna, also an Augustan military colony, and Arsenaria, close to Oran, a Latin community in the early imperial age. Farther on was Portus Magnus, whose name seems to indicate that it was a new foundation of the Romans; Siga, a commercial city of some size, and Rusaddir (Melilla). All these communities were early organised on Italian lines. At Rusaddir the coast road ended. From here to Tingi there was never a Roman highway near the sea. Tingi (Tangier) gave its name to the western province, Mauretania Tingitana. Pliny quaintly says that it was founded by Antaeus, the giant antagonist of Herakles, and again by Claudius, who made it a colony. But we have already seen that Augustus established it as a Roman city. This was done in gratitude for aid rendered during the Perusine war. From Tinge, a daughter of Antaeus, whom Herakles married after killing her father, the town's name was believed to be derived, and the Maure-

tanian princes traced their descent from the pair. The grave of the giant was at Tingi, where Sertorius verified the tradition of his bulk by actual excavation. Augustus pushed his interest in the African coast so far as to establish Roman cities on the far Atlantic shore. South of Tingi he founded the 'Colonia Iulia Constantia Zulil' or 'Zilis,' and still farther south the 'municipium' of Sala (Rabat), the limit in this direction of the permanent Roman occupation. Augustus paid attention not alone to the seaboard of Mauretania. He made a beginning of the Romanisation of the interior, though the country as a whole was not in Roman possession. So far as is known, five inland municipalities were recognised by him, and three of these were in the far west. The 'Colonia Valentia Banasa,' where inscriptions have been found, was on a road between Tingi and Sala, which passed at some distance from the sea. There was here a river called by Pliny "splendid and navigable" (now the Sbou). The site of the 'Colonia Iulia Campestris Babba' has not yet been identified. There was also, not far from Fez, the Moroccan capital, a town called Volubilis, the name being probably an adaptation of an indigenous title. Here was what an explorer calls "a mighty city," but its remains belong to the late imperial age, when it was rebuilt, probably after some great catastrophe. It is obvious that Augustus would not have bestowed municipal honours on towns in these faraway regions, if Italian traders had not already settled in them. The circumstances of Morocco have made investigation difficult, and little has been ascertained concerning the Roman occupation in this land where darkness has so long brooded. It is known that chains of strongholds existed, such as we have described in the more eastern portions of Mauretania. It is believed that Fez itself was once a Roman station. Between Volubilis and Tangier was a strong fortress known from the second century as Oppidum Novum. Here occurred a small but curious incident of discovery. For a long time there had been known an absurd Arab translation of a Latin inscription. The erroneous version had produced

a crop of legends, involving a mythical Sultan and a disciple of St Mark. Recently the original came to light, and it proved to be a military inscription of quite ordinary character.

More important, or at least better known, is the colonial foundation of Augustus at Tupusuctu, in the valley of the Sahel, whose mouth is about nine miles away, a little to the east of Saldae. This city was settled by veterans of the Seventh Legion, and it played a great part in the history of Roman Mauretania. It was from first to last a strong fortress. The extant remains are of the Byzantine age, as is the case with a number of other ancient African cities. It stood a siege in 24 A.D. by Tacfarinas, during the last campaign of that redoubtable chieftain. A well protected highway connected it with Sitifis, the old Numidian city, placed almost at the eastern extremity of the Roman province of Mauretania Caesareensis, and possessed of communication by road with the headquarters of the Third Augustan Legion at Lambaesis. Augustus also began the occupation of another important valley, that of the Chinalaph (Cheliff), by creating on its upper course the colony of Zuccabar (Affreville). It was only a score of miles from Caesarea and Tipasa, with which places it was linked by a chain of forts; and the great inland Mauretanian road, coming from Sitifis to Auzia, turned northward there and reached the sea by passing between Zuccabar and Caesarea. The dealings of Augustus with Mauretania, when taken together, show that the dependence of Iuba's kingdom on Rome was marked. No other of the client princes of the empire was treated exactly in the same manner.

As soon as Claudius came to the throne, just after the annexation of Mauretania by Caligula, he began to carry further the Romanisation of the country. We have already seen, in connexion with Tingi and Tipasa, illustrations of his policy. By the river Cheliff, a little below Zuccabar, a colony of veterans was constituted, to which the far from distinctive name of Oppidum Novum was given. The upper tracts of

the Cheliff valley were strongly held later on, and a line of fortifications was carried far to the westward, but it is impossible to determine precisely the dates at which the advances were made. A little above Oppidum Novum was Safasar, a formidable stronghold that was of the greatest service to the Romans when the country was from time to time afflicted by insurrection. Military posts were scattered along a route which descended the Cheliff for some way, and then turned south, skirting the sloping side of a high plateau, until it reached the upper waters of the Isser, about the present frontier of Algeria and Morocco. The westernmost station was Numerus Syrorum, to which reference has previously been made. The exploration of Morocco is as yet so incomplete that, apart from the towns already mentioned, we have little information about later civic settlements in Mauretania Tingitana. On the coast, between the river Mulucha, which separated the two Mauretanian provinces and now divides Morocco from Algeria, and Tingi, there was only one important place, Rusaddir (Melilla). It was a colony probably from the second century. When Aedemon, the servant of the last prince, the Ptolemy whom Caligula murdered, set on foot a rising to avenge his master, a Roman force under Suetonius Paulinus, afterwards commander in Britain, marched right through the Atlas range, but no attempt was made to hold effectively any part of the mountains. Pliny quotes from Paulinus himself some strange travellers' tales touching his experiences. It was at this time, about 42 A.D., that Claudius raised to colonial rank both Tingi and Lixus on the Atlantic coast, south of the Augustan colony of Zulil. Lixus was connected with the legend of Antaeus. The Roman geographers knew little of these parts, and Pliny censures them for filling their pages with fables.

The harvest of inscriptions gathered in from Mauretania, scanty as it is by comparison with those belonging to the African province, enables us to trace at many points that transition from military to civil life which is notable all over the western sections of the empire. The almost universal

language of the records is Latin, even where the kernel of the population consisted of detachments recruited in the East or among the barbarians on the northern frontiers of the Roman dominions. These men strove to be as Roman as the Romans at the centre. At Numerus Syrorum a number of the monuments to the dead describe the tomb as "the Roman house" (*domus Romula*). Not far to the east of this place was Pomarium, now Tlemçen, a settlement of no little consequence, which possessed a municipal constitution in the second century. Tlemçen was the capital of a strong kingdom in the Middle Ages. At Altava, farther eastward, the sites of the town and the camp can be clearly discerned. At the camp was unearthed a dedication (appropriate for this dangerous service) to 'Disciplina Militaris.' A remarkable inscription was here recovered, set up in honour of a man who is described as "King of Moors and Romans." Evidently the Romanised population and the untamed Moors combined in the early sixth century to resist the domination of the Vandals. At Safar, between Oran and Tlemçen, was a camp with a civic community of some size hard by. Even on the border of the desert, along the southern edge of the mountains, Latin inscriptions have been discovered, often of no small interest. But in the western parts of Mauretania Caesareensis the coast towns seem always to have flourished more than those in the interior. The comparative insecurity of the country must have been the chief reason. The soil was in many districts sufficiently fertile to have supported towns comparable to those on the eastern side of Roman Africa. There can be little doubt that the visit of Hadrian was followed by a strengthening of the military protection, especially in the valleys of the Sahel and the Isser. At Quiza, near the mouth of the Cheliff, a 'municipium' in the first century and a colony in the second, an arch commemorated the countenance shown by Hadrian to the land.

Even, however, in regions where settlements of an urban character did not spring up, there was much agricultural colonisation. Along the lower course of the Cheliff, and on

the banks of its tributaries, ruins of the Roman age are thickly spread. Away from the rivers, excepting along the great roads, where military defence was strong, there were few places of importance in the interior. Auzia, on the highway from Sitifis to Caesarea, was a great meeting point of lines of communication, and to that fact owed its prosperity. It first appears in history as a fortified post held by Tacfarinas against the Roman forces. When the system of roads was developed it throve and became first a municipality, then a colony. This was one of the towns which, by way of exception, gave to the 'genius' of the community a definite name, 'Auzius.' Starting from Auzia and proceeding westward a traveller would come to the upper Cheliff and to the sea at Caesarea, or striking along the river, could pass to the borders of Mauretania Caesareensis. Leaving Auzia on the eastward side, there were two main routes, already mentioned, one running to the north, the other to the south of the mountains of the 'Hodna.' The northern route led almost due east to Sitifis and then bending to the south reached Zarai, the frontier post of the African province. The southern road from Auzia attained Zarai by passing to the south of the mountains, which were encircled by forts at intervals. Not far to the westward of Auzia was a place called Rapidi, whose development is partly traceable by inscriptions and resembles that of many another in the provinces of the west. A fort occupied a strong site between two rushing rivers, from which the name, probably short for 'Rapidi Amnes,' was derived. There grew up near by a community of settlers, who in the reign of Marcus Aurelius were no longer content to rely entirely on the fort for their protection. With the sanction of the imperial procurator, they built round their settlement a wall, at their own cost. They describe themselves as "veterani et pagani consistentes," that is to say, some of the settlers had passed through the army; others had not. An earlier record mentions a building given by Hadrian. Another inscription records that Diocletian and Maximian rebuilt the defences. Between Auzia and Sitifis were

several towns whose history must have been similar to that of Rapidi.

If we survey the organisation of all the north African provinces from a municipal point of view, we find some curious and interesting features. The 'pagus' and the 'vicus' and even the 'civitas' often emulated the municipality proper, and approximated their institutions to that type. The name 'pagus' was in use in many provinces of the West with varying practical application. The vast territory of Cirta was split up into a number of 'pagi' which seem to have had more local independence than was customary. They had 'magistri' with 'aedilician' authority, priests with the municipal title of 'flamen perpetuus,' a body of senators, definite territory and a 'public estate' (*publicus ager*). There was something unusual in the relation of the town of Cirta to its 'pagi,' just as there was in the relation of Cirta to its three sister colonies, which has been explained earlier. The 'pagi Cirtenses' are often mentioned as a group. Tacitus speaks of them as having received special protection against Tacfarinas. Most, perhaps all, of these 'pagi' became separate municipalities in course of time. The 'civitas' again often came to wear nearly the appearance of a regularly organised civic body. There were some peculiar forms of dual community. In several places two sections, one describing itself as 'civitas,' the other as 'pagus,' combine to set up an inscription. An interesting example is that of Thugga (Dougga), now well known by its fine remains. We have records of a 'pagus Thuggensis' in the reign of Claudius, and of a 'civitas Thugge' in that of Hadrian. Then in the time of Marcus Aurelius we find the combination 'pagus et civitas,' the two acting together on occasion, but possessing separate councils, and distinct magistrates. The cooperation must have been close, for one inscription of Thugga speaks of "both parts of the community" (*utraque pars civitatis*). Septimius Severus amalgamated the two groups of inhabitants so as to make a Roman town, to which colonial privilege was granted a little later. At Thignica and Agbia, both near to Thugga, there was a similar

evolution. The magnificent title of Thignica was 'Municipium Aurelium Antoninianum Alexandrinum Herculeum Frugiferum Thignica.' A very curious 'pagus' existed at a place called Gurza, a little way inland from Hadrumetum. A decree of the first century ran in the name of "the senate and people of the stipendiary 'civitates' in the 'pagus'."

It seems probable that in many, or perhaps in most instances, the African 'pagus' was inhabited by settlers who were Roman citizens, while the 'civitas' consisted of unenfranchised natives. In course of time the latter would be gradually Romanised, until common action between citizens and non-citizens would become possible. In this connexion may be quoted an inscription from Masculula, which lay in a somewhat wild region near Sicca Veneria, between that colony and Simitthu. It mentions an "assembly of Roman citizens and of Numidians who are dwellers at Masculula" (*conventus civium Romanorum et Numidarum qui Masculula consistunt*). Here apparently the Romans and natives agreed to follow together the precedents of the 'conventus' of which an account has been given earlier. Doubtless Masculula became in good time a regular municipality, though the evidence has perished. Sometimes the 'pagus' was advanced to the municipal status, while the 'civitas' remained as it was. It was so with the 'civitas Bencennensis,' close to Uchi Maius, where old soldiers had been settled by Marius and again later by Augustus. When Alexander Severus accorded to Uchi Maius the colonial title, the 'civitas' erected a statue of the goddess Concordia. There was inscribed on the base a statement that this was done because Uchi Maius had been "advanced and honoured" by the emperor. It seems that the 'civitas' wished to testify that it nursed no jealousy of the distinction conferred on its neighbour. There are also indications that dual peregrin communities carried out amalgamation on becoming Roman municipalities. Nowhere can we trace so clearly as in Africa the gradual assimilation of Roman and non-Roman populations placed side by side. Many 'pagi' owed their origin to the planting on the land of

soldiers whose time of service had expired. We find a 'pagus Mercurialis veteranorum Medelitanorum' on the left bank of the river Miliana, only about five miles from Uthina, and we know that veterans were settled at Uthina by Augustus. A dozen miles or so away from Uthina was a 'pagus Fortunalis.' In the reign of Septimius Severus the inhabitants described themselves as "Roman citizens, old occupants of the 'pagus,' whose ancestors by the kindness of the deified Augustus received farms in Sutunurca," meaning thereby the 'territorium' of Sutunurca. This place was still merely a 'civitas' at the time. The approximation which took place elsewhere was not brought about here and we do not know whether the 'pagi' in question ever joined with the natives to enjoy municipal institutions.

To what extent were the less settled tribes permitted to manage their own affairs? In the first place it seems absolutely certain that a complete survey was early made of the regions effectively occupied by the Romans, and the territory of every recognised unit, large and small, was defined. The 'pagus,' the 'castellum,' which is sometimes hardly distinguishable from the 'pagus,' the 'civitas,' the 'gens,' all had their 'territoria,' like the 'municipium' and the 'colonia.' Disputes about boundaries were common enough everywhere in the empire; we have many records, in Africa as in other provinces, of their settlement by imperial authority. No doubt the tribal communities which were not municipally organised were carefully protected against encroachment on their domains. Among the backward peoples of the western provinces we find a number of officers called by the title 'praefectus,' who exercised some sort of authority over the tribal units, or the unsettled clans. We had an example of the kind in the case of Cottius, the 'praefectus' over the fourteen 'civitates' in the Cottian Alps. Officials with the same title are known in connexion with the Maritime Alps, Raetia, the Vallis Poenina, Moesia, Thrace and Sardinia. In Africa the title given was sometimes 'procurator ad curam gentium.' These superintendents were of equestrian rank. We can only conjecture

that their duties were to supervise, not to govern the 'gentes' and that the natives were left very much alone, so long as their duties towards the government, the payment of tribute and the supplying of recruits, were performed. In Africa there would appear to have been a recognised division, not so clearly traceable elsewhere, between the 'gens' and the more settled 'civitas.' The line, however, must have been somewhat arbitrarily drawn. One colony, Thubursicum Numidarum, not far from Thagaste and Madaura, seems to have been evolved from the 'gens Numidarum' whose territory lay round about. Some inscriptions mention a 'princeps gentis' whose source of authority was obviously internal, not external as in the case of the 'praefectus.' Similar personages meet us in other provinces. There was a 'princeps' of the clan called the Trumplini, connected with the Alpine municipality of Tridentum. 'Princeps peregrinorum,' found in several places, seems to be an equivalent of 'princeps gentis.' Calama, which only became a municipality in the third century, had before that two 'sufetes' side by side with a 'princeps.' In some instances phrases like 'princeps loci,' 'princeps patriae,' are mere honorific expressions, like 'princeps civitatis' in Republican Rome. Occasionally we can see that the 'gentes' were conforming somewhat to ordinary municipal forms. Thus one man entitled 'princeps' is also designated as 'decurio.' And 'princeps' is sometimes a mark of an officer in a small community of Roman citizens, as at Verecunda near Lambaesis. One institution among the African 'gentes' is that of the Council of Eleven (*undecimprimi*), consisting, it may be, of ten chief men with a possibly hereditary 'princeps.' This may be reasonably regarded as an arrangement introduced by the Romans. They were accustomed in Italy to deal with a council of ten belonging to the Latin and other towns.

Another question must be briefly considered. To what extent may the municipalisation of Roman Africa, extraordinary as it was, be taken as proof of the interpenetration of Latin culture? It is certain that the Punic civilisation

was never completely overspread by the Roman. Both forms were swept clean away by the Moslem conquest. The last traces of the impress made by the Romans on the country, apart from the ruined buildings, perished with the extinction of the Christian religion in Africa. But how deep did the Roman influence go while it lasted? Of all the inscriptions of the Roman age yet discovered in Africa and Mauretania, more than twenty thousand in all, the number not couched in Latin is relatively small. The Punic inscriptions are much more numerous than those called 'Libyc,' and yet these latter represent the language of the Berber race, and this language alone of the three has lasted. Communities great and small, Roman and non-Roman, whatever their grade of privilege, expected Latin to be used on inscribed monuments of every kind. Even in places where we can be sure that it was not the speech of the people, it was employed ordinarily for the memorials of the dead. It is obvious that the use of Latin was in large measure fashionable and conventional merely, and anything but natural and spontaneous. Among the educated classes Greek and Punic are known to have been very prevalent. To many who were not of low rank, Latin was not a mother tongue, but an acquired language. This was the case in the family of the emperor Septimius Severus, a native of Leptis Magna. After he ascended the throne his sister visited him in Rome and put him to shame by her almost total inability to speak Latin. The monarch's own Latin betrayed an African accent even in old age. Yet he belonged to a family some of whose members had risen high in the service of the state. And he himself passed for one of the most learned Romans of his time, in Greek and Roman literature alike. He had come to the capital in early life and had also pursued his studies at Athens. He was an orator in Punic as well as in Latin. In one of his 'Silvae' the poet Statius addresses a Septimius Severus, a native of Leptis Magna, like the emperor, and possibly one of his ancestors. The poet says that neither in language nor in guise is his friend 'Punic'; he is all Italian, whereas there are among

Romans of the capital men who would better become the Libyan land. It is obviously assumed to be difficult to learn Latin in its purity in Africa. Apuleius, born at Madaura, tells with what trouble he improved his Latin when he came to Rome. He also speaks of his son as a youth who frequented low society, and spoke Punic, but for a little Greek, learned from his mother. In the age of Augustine knowledge of Punic was regarded as an almost necessary qualification for a priest in the neighbourhood of Hippo Regius, where the saint was bishop. It can only be by accident that we have no record of the like requirement in the case of Libyc in the interior. It is clear that Punic slowly died out, and that when the Arabs invaded the country Latin and Libyc were spoken almost exclusively. As to Greek, the evidence for its continued teaching in the African schools down into the fifth century is abundant. Augustine indeed had no great acquaintance with it. But there must have been many who understood it, since he informs us that the Christians commonly read the Old Testament in the Septuagint version. The letters of the wife of Apuleius were written in Greek. We have little or no trace of Libyc as a vehicle of education. When inscriptions praise a man as master "of both languages" these tongues are Latin and Punic.

In the second century men born in Africa began to take the place in Latin literature which had been held in the first century by natives of Spain. In their hands Latin took on it a new tinge recognisable as specially African, and scholars have traced some of its peculiarities to the influence of the Berber tongue. The two Latin writers most prominent in the second century were born in Africa. Fronto, the tutor and friend of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, the correspondent of the leading literary men of his time, and the great model of Latin writers and orators of the age, really debased Latin by affected archaism. Apuleius of Madaura renovated it by breathing into it a new force and grace. The great African Christian literature began at the end of the second century with Tertullian, whose birthplace was Carthage.

An African of the same time was Minucius Felix, and later came Cyprian, bishop of Carthage and admirer of Tertullian; and Arnobius, born at Sicca Veneria.

The treatment of Punic and Berber personal and place names in the inscriptions has some interest. Old designations of towns were seldom abandoned or even Latinised. At the opening of his account of Africa Pliny complains that the names of peoples and towns there are not to be uttered (*ineffabilia*) excepting by the tongues of the natives themselves. Such titles as Gigthi, Simitthu, Pupput, Muzuc, Tuburnuc, Zucchari strangely concluded the long resounding official titles of Roman townships or colonies. The extent to which the old indigenous names, current in the Roman period, are traceable in the designations of the same places to-day, is altogether remarkable. Where the only name in use was Latin, the survivals are sometimes curious. Thus in one place 'Ain Castellou' is a stream near an old Roman 'castellum.' The changes which as time went on passed over the personal nomenclature of Punic or Berber families are curious to trace in the inscriptions, particularly those which are sepulcral. Oftentimes a man who is invested with three names of Roman type has a father whose name is purely indigenous. A native designation was often adopted as cognomen. For example, Jugurtha is not uncommon, and in one case is found on the tomb of a Roman knight. Some names were translated into Latin from a native speech. Thus Saturninus frequently occurs. It has a reference to Baal, who often borrowed the title 'Saturnus.' This practice accounts for the adoption into the personal nomenclature of words of good omen taken from Latin, as Crescens, Faustus, Honoratus and the like. These all have their counterpart in Punic. The fact that Augustine called his son Adeodatus would be in itself sufficient to prove his acquaintance with that tongue; it is an exact representation of 'Iatanbaal,' and is found in inscriptions. Donatus, specially characteristic of Africa, has a like origin. So too Rogatus, that is 'asked of God.' Of course in the process of Latinisation many irregularities were

committed. The praenomen is often unused. Occasionally several generations of a family are traceable in the records. At Cillium, for example, we come across a certain Masul, son of Alurusa. He had two sons, Mazac and Saturninus. The wife of this Saturninus was Flavia Fortunata, and their son was Flavius Fortunatus. There is a bilingual inscription in Punic and Greek, where the name Abdmelqart occurs, meaning the servant of Melqart (Melcarth) the so-called Phoenician Herakles. The Greek representation is Herakleides. The number of names in Africa which are connected with Roman emperors, the Iulii, Flavii, Aelii, Aurelii, Septimii, is abnormally large. We have already noticed that the Sittii were very numerous in the lands where the great free-lance Sittius planted his soldiers. While those whose natural language was Libyc far outnumbered those who spoke Punic and Latin, the inscriptions seem to show that a very small proportion of them, comparatively, rose to wealth and municipal honours.

The impression that must be produced by a scrutiny of the evidence is that but a minute fraction of the population could claim Italian descent. In this respect Africa of course is on the same plane as other parts of the Roman world. We have already seen clear indications that emigration on anything like the modern scale, or even on the ancient Greek scale, was unknown to the Romans. The Italic leaven which they scattered over their dominions was scanty, but its potency all over the West was astonishing. The population of the parts of Africa which they ruled must have grown greatly under their sway. But the increase came mainly from within. All over Roman Africa we have found development furthered astonishingly by the settlement of veterans on the soil. Many places which came to be important originated in this way. After the first century of the imperial system few soldiers came from beyond the bounds of Africa. An analysis of the very numerous military inscriptions has shown that the Third Augustan Legion received its recruits more and more from Africa itself, until in the second century

A.D. enlistments from beyond became very rare indeed. This of course is a phenomenon which had its parallels all the empire over. On the other hand the recruits in the 'numerus Palmyrenorum' were all from Palmyra, even in the third century.

Among the indications that people of Italian descent were not relatively many in Africa, those derived from an examination of the religious rites are of weight. The ideas lying behind the commonest forms of worship continued to be, in the main, those which the Romans found in the land when they entered it. The names of the divinities were Latinised, but their essence remained the same. Baal might present himself as Saturn, Jupiter, Mercury, Apollo, Pluto, or father Liber, but the requirements which he made of his worshippers were unchanged, though all could not be fulfilled under Roman dominance. Much indifference was shown as to names; great tenacity guarded the ritual. So the mighty goddess Tanit might figure as Celestial Juno, Venus, Tellus, Diana, Luna, Ceres or Proserpine. The influence of the conquerors was to be seen mainly in the use of the Graeco-Roman temple, and in the application of anthropomorphism, as against the Phoenician adoration under the open sky and on the mountain top, with aniconic symbols of the divine power. Ancient usage persisted strikingly. Punic astral emblems such as the disc and the crescent were carved on pillars set up in honour of the gods or on sepulcral monuments, down to a late age. The Italic forms of cults such as that of the Capitoline Triad, were official and not popular. Even the reverence of the divine emperors was far from being so widespread in Africa as in most other western provinces. As regards religious and funerary rites there is much evidence of the strong action of native customs upon the immigrants from Italy. The sepulcral monuments even at a late date often betray their unbroken descent from a time far more remote than the Carthaginian. The African dominions of Rome are extraordinarily rich in prehistoric memorials of the Stone Age. Many late tombs preserve with considerable faithfulness the type of the 'menhir.'

A great deal of the colonisation of the Roman period, whereby the earth was subdued, with the inevitable result, the creation of new town communities, can be shown to have been carried out by Berber or Punic speaking settlers. This was clearly the case, for example, round about Maktar, not far from the old Carthaginian city of Lares and the Augustan colony of Assuras, in a somewhat mountainous country on the extreme upper waters of the system of the Bagradas. This spectacle of non-Roman colonisation promoted by the Roman administration is of course in view elsewhere, particularly in the provinces of the East, but the African evidence enables the process to be seen in detail more clearly than in some other lands.

How much of the municipal splendour of Roman Africa was due to the direct action of the imperial power? Very little. The military forces constructed many of the roads in the first instance, and especially on the frontiers and, as has been already observed in the case of Thamugadi and Lambaesis, a certain amount of town building and other construction was done by them. But inscriptions demonstrate that the maintenance of the roads fell upon the municipalities, excepting for an occasional spasmodic effort by the government. And the same is true of defensive works, to which there are many references in inscriptions. The inhabitants often had to provide these for themselves and keep them in repair, with little help from the government. And nearly the whole equipment of civil life was provided from the wealth which was extracted from the soil. When it accumulated in the hands of individuals, it naturally and readily flowed out again, under the combined influences of patriotism and ambition, for the benefit of the rich men's native boroughs. The gifts of citizens to their 'fatherland' (*patria*) whether in their lifetime or by their testaments are set forth in a vast number of inscriptions, and these are no doubt but a fraction of those which once existed. The rise of the poor man to prominence seems to have been easier in Africa than in most of the provinces. This fact is illustrated by the celebrated inscription

in rude elegiac Latin verse which pictures the career of the 'harvestman of Maktar.' He describes the poverty-stricken home of his birth; his twelve expeditions at harvest time with bands of reapers who sought the rich fields round Cirta or elsewhere; the vigorous strokes of his scythe under the "rabid" sun; his promotion to be master of a gang; the wealth which sprang from his toil and frugality; his rise to be senator; his office as censor after having been a poor clodhopper (*rusticulus*). In addition to the munificence of single burgesses, whole communities spent their revenues on the glorification of their cities, and separate associations within the communities contributed to the same end. In very many instances there was resort to public subscription (*collatio*). These processes are of course to be seen all the empire over. It is true that the peculiar circumstances of Roman Africa have permitted much evidence of them to survive, while it perished in other lands. But when all due allowance has been made for this fact, it remains true that in Africa local patriotism shines with especial brilliance in the municipal history of the Roman dominions.

Before we leave the African possessions of Rome we must give attention to a development which is far from being peculiar to them, but which can best be illustrated from the material which their soil has yielded to the explorer. The movement which we have now to consider was essentially anti-municipal, as we shall see. From the earliest days of the empire the creation of huge landed estates (*latifundia*) proceeded with enormous rapidity. As Mommsen says, the evolution went on with an inevitability which gives it the appearance of a law of nature. This evil had created apprehension during the Republican time, but the cause for alarm was insignificant by comparison. Many of the owners were parvenus, and the satirical description by Petronius of the huge possessions of Trimalchio derives its humour from this circumstance. It will be remembered that a daily gazette had to be published to keep the owner and the world informed of the happenings on Trimalchio's estates. The

statement of Pliny that six men in the reign of Nero owned half Africa is familiar. Whatever may be the reason, the amalgamation of properties was more easily carried out there than in other parts of the Roman world. The natural results followed; the execution of the monopolists and the transfer of their properties to the emperors. Pliny's six African landowners disappeared in this fashion, as did a vast number of others. This method added enormously to the emperors' holdings in land from age to age. Imperial properties often continued to take their name from the original massacred proprietors. But the emperors had other important modes of acquisition. The 'publicus ager' of the Republican age naturally fell to them. Much was devised to them by the wills of the opulent citizens; and much was acquired by forging or invalidating testaments. When fresh annexations were made, the domains of the dispossessed rulers passed over to the Roman monarch, as in Egypt and in Cappadocia and in many other lands. In the end, the emperors administered, under different forms, enormous territories in every province, and even Italy was not unaffected. When Diocletian introduced his new arrangement of the provinces, he exempted from it a great tract in Asia Minor which was his own. So in the reign of Trajan the Thracian Chersonese, left by Agrippa to Augustus, had a separate administration from the province of Thrace. Occasionally a moderate ruler like Trajan alienated for the benefit of the exchequer some of the illgotten gains of his predecessors, but on the whole acquisition far outstripped alienation. The permanence of the imperial holdings in land is shown by the fact that Constantine gave estates to the church which had once been possessed by Maecenas, Tiberius and the Statilii.

Many important results ensued, which exercised a profound influence on subsequent history, but only a few concern us. The revenues of imperial lands of course relieved taxation, but there was probably much waste. One consequence was a great check to the development of municipalities with their 'territoria.' The imperial estates were extra-territorial and

stood outside the municipal system, and it seems that private grandees were often able to treat their possessions in the same manner. We are told by an ancient writer that even private 'latifundia' in Africa exceeded in extent the 'territoria' of the neighbouring towns. It is curious to note that the Roman emperors adopted a policy which was the direct opposite of that generally pursued by the Hellenistic princes who followed Alexander. These (except in Egypt) generally were concerned to create new cities endowed with land formerly in royal ownership.

The most ordinary name for a single 'latifundium' whether in imperial or in private possession, was 'saltus.' Special methods for the government of these 'saltus' had to be devised. In their administration, the emperor's great holdings did not differ much from those appertaining to rich subjects. Each of the emperor's estates was directed by an agent (*procurator*) whose function resembled, on a small scale, that of a provincial governor. The land was let, through middlemen, ultimately to farmers (*coloni*) whose portions were usually not very large. Here it may be observed that false deductions have been drawn from exaggerated statements made by ancient authors. When Pliny declared that 'latifundia' had ruined first Italy and then the provinces, he failed to point out, what has been proved to demonstration by modern inquirers, that ownership on a large scale was not only compatible with cultivation on a small scale, but in the end actually led up to it. In the imperial age the great estates were not, as might be supposed, huge tracts denuded of free inhabitants and cultivated by chained gangs of slaves. The system actually proved to be inimical to servile labour. When Seneca speaks of a man who ploughs (*arat*) in all provinces and holds huge spaces of the earth to be tilled by labourers in chains he is guilty of the grossest exaggeration. There was a general abandonment of the attempt on the part of large owners to exploit their possessions directly by means of hordes of slaves. It was not until the third century that the pressure of taxation caused the 'coloni' not only in the

imperial 'saltus,' but everywhere in the empire, to be subjected to unfree conditions. The people of the 'saltus' like the Roman 'consistentes' in a non-Roman town or the residents in the 'canabae,' were certainly able to organise themselves to some extent for the protection of their common interests, but little is known of the forms actually adopted. They sometimes constituted little aggregates of population, denoted as 'castella,' with the ordinary institutions found in 'castella' which were not on imperial land. When Zarai in western Numidia was evacuated by the soldiers about 213 A.D. the dwellers in the 'castella' on the extensive imperial domains situated thereabouts had to bestir themselves to build fortifications for their own safety, under the sanction of the procurator, as several inscriptions testify. One great record, made known to scholars especially by Mommsen's handling of it, belongs to an imperial 'saltus Burunitanus,' which lay between Bulla Regia and Vaga. The 'coloni' conspired together to bring their grievances to the knowledge of the emperor. They had officers, obviously elected year by year, called 'magistri.' The inscription was attached in all probability to an altar. It embodies a petition addressed to Commodus, with his favourable answer. The petitioners present themselves as poor men, subsisting by their labour, and exposed to maltreatment, not only by the procurator, but by the greater middlemen (*conductores*). They appeal to documents kept in the record-office of the district of Carthage (*tractus Karthaginiensis*) which defined the conditions of their tenure; and especially to a 'lex Hadriana,' evidently a comprehensive ordinance governing the 'saltus,' and to letters of earlier imperial agents. It appears that the tenants had to perform on lands which were in the hands either of the procurator or of the 'conductores' a very limited amount of enforced labour. This they had been required to exceed, and soldiers had been sent into the 'saltus' who had done violence to the 'coloni,' "some of them Roman citizens," by flogging them and placing them in chains. It is evident that the 'coloni' mostly belonged to the indigenous race, and that the

spread of the citizenship among them was slower than among the inhabitants of the non-Roman 'civitates' and 'pagi' in general. There is reason to think that the institution of the 'saltus' had a levelling effect, and that the arrangements for their management were in all provinces very much the same. Another inscription of the year 138 A.D. refers to a private 'saltus,' the owner of which was allowed to set on foot a market on his property. The establishment of a 'nundinae,' as it is here called, required, under the imperial system, the emperor's sanction. This estate lay between Ammaedara and Sufetula, and is in one part of the inscription stated to lie in the 'regio Beguensis,' in the 'territorium' of the Musulamii, and close to Casae, while in another it is said to be within the territory of Casae. What may have been the relation between the 'saltus' and the town of Casae and the tribe of the Musulamii, is hard to divine.

The large estates were not the only portions of a province which were extra-municipal. Not merely did land tend to come largely into imperial possession, but the same fate befell ultimately to no small extent other means of production, even factories, potteries, and the like. Already in the Republican time many mines, quarries and forests were public property, and when the empire was established there was a rapid drift towards ownership by the crown. Mines especially passed, almost all of them, out of private hands. A document of great importance in this connexion was discovered in 1876, at Aljustrel, within the province of Lusitania, where there was an ancient copper mine. Its name was 'Metallum Vipascense.' The inscription is part of a great ordinance enacted by the emperor not only for the regulation of the mining operations, but for the government and welfare of the whole population connected with the mine. The régime seems to have been more severe than that of the 'saltus.' All trades and occupations were subject to stringent regulations. The exploitation is not unlike that of the 'saltus.' There is an imperial agent (*procurator*) who works to a great extent through middlemen. But the ore is won by small contractors, whose

position resembles somewhat that of the 'tributers' on some modern goldfields and in other mining districts. Relatively to the administration, their status is much like that of the 'coloni.' One chapter of the statute concerns the management of baths provided for the community. Another forbids the procurator to tax the schoolmasters (*ludi magistri*) of the settlement. There must have been a number of free residents, though reference is made to slave labour.

While we are speaking of extra-municipal districts, a passing mention may be made of some that belong to another class, which lay almost wholly on the eastern side of the empire. These were the domains, often of huge extent, attached to temples, particularly in Asia Minor. There were great priest-princes who cultivated their enormous territories by means of serfs. Komana in Pisidia was one of these centres, Pessinus in Phrygia was another. The destiny of these lordships, which we shall have to consider later, was in the main to pass into the possession of the emperors.

# CHAPTER XI

## THE HELLENISED LANDS

WHEN we turn to the eastern section of the Roman empire, we find ourselves in an atmosphere which presents a striking contrast to that of the western division. History, tradition, religion, thought, feeling all combine to give a different character to the scene. For convenience, we speak briefly of these vast regions as 'Hellenised,' but the term must be accepted only in a rough sense, meaning that the transforming spirit at work upon the East was mainly Hellenic, as that at work upon the West was mainly Italic. Centuries before the Romans entered on their career of Oriental conquest, the Greeks had been winning over the indigenous peoples to adopt their peculiar forms of social life. They themselves in turn were impressed by their environment and Hellenism was blended with barbaric elements, as was the case with Romanism on the other side. With the advent of Alexander the pace of change in the East was quickened, and the area open to Greek influence enormously widened. In the end, there was less of contrast between the early Greek world and the late, than existed between the late Greek world and the Romanised West. The Hellenised lands did not, indeed, remain unmodified by the institutions of the Roman conqueror, but the modifications were more superficial than essential.

In Italy, Gaul, Spain and on the Adriatic shores we have glanced at regions once Hellenic, where the Greek civilisation was completely submerged. This occurred in one important

country of the West, Sicily, which we have not yet reviewed. The position of this island, when the imperial system came into being, was peculiar. The devastating effects of Greek municipal Chauvinism were lamentably obvious in Sicily, as on the opposite shores of Italy. Plato, if he be the author of the Epistles attributed to him, warned the Syracusans that Greek strife would issue in subjection to the Phoenicians, or the "Oscans" (by which name he pointed to the Italian foes of the Greeks) or to some other alien domination. The earliest Roman province comprised the western portion of the island, ceded by Carthage in 241 B.C. Hiero's kingdom included seven towns and their territories, the greatest of them being Syracuse, Leontini and Megara. This realm was absorbed by Rome after the capture of Syracuse by Marcellus in 212 B.C. In Republican times at least, the old division between the eastern and the western portions of the island was maintained in the administration, Lilybaeum being one capital, Syracuse the other. Our knowledge of the condition of the Sicilian towns at the end of the Republican age is principally derived from Cicero's denunciations of Verres. After the first Slave War, in 132 B.C., a great regulating ordinance was laid down by the proconsul P. Rupilius, with the aid of a senatorial commission. This 'lex Rupilia' was probably what the Romans called 'lex data,' a law whose details were not brought before the assembly. It was operative by authority which the assembly conferred on the administrator. This was the first of the great administrative regulations which affected whole provinces of the empire. We must suppose that the rights granted to the Sicilian cities by treaties or public contracts were respected by Rupilius. There were sixty-eight civic communities in all. Three were 'civitates foederatae,' free from all exactions, excepting the requirement of assistance to Rome in time of war. These three were Messana, the 'Mamertina civitas,' peopled by descendants of Italic conquerors, Tauromenium and Netum. Five cities were 'free and untaxed' (*liberae et immunes*), much in the same situation as the 'federated' towns. The most important was

Centuripae, which played but a small part in the stormy Sicilian history. In Cicero's time it had ten thousand burgesses. It lay under Aetna, had rich soil, and its inhabitants were "consummate cultivators" according to Cicero. Thirty-four civic bodies were 'decumanae,' that is they paid tithe on arable land and a tax on pasture to the government, as they had been accustomed to pay to the Carthaginians or to Hiero. The exactions were fixed charges, when the Rupilian law was honestly carried out. Then there were twenty-six communities, including Syracuse, Lilybaeum and perhaps Agrigentum, which had been conquered in war, and were nominally without rights, their land being the property of the Roman people. But in practice their condition was not far different from that of the 'decumanae.' The faithlessness with which Marcellus treated the citizens of Syracuse is notorious. In 210 B.C. the inhabitants of Agrigentum were all killed or enslaved, and a new population was imported from the Sicilian towns. Mommsen thought that the 'Latinitas' was bestowed on Agrigentum at the time; but there is little to recommend the view. The city had experienced a similar disaster in 405 B.C. at the hands of the Carthaginians, and had been refounded by Timoleon. Pliny's account of Sicily under Augustus is far from clear. Probably all towns in the island received from Caesar the Latin form of constitution at least. After his death Antony forged and published as Caesar's a decree, granting the Roman franchise to all Sicily. But it was declared invalid, and had no effect. Augustus established seven military colonies in the island. After Actium, Horace represented the Romans as eager to know whether Octavian would grant his soldiers farms in Italy or in the 'three-cornered land.' The tithes seem to have been abolished by Caesar; and Pliny mentions no 'civitates decumanae.' On the other hand, he reckons forty-seven communities as 'stipendiary,' liable to pay fixed sums in money as tribute. The towns of Sicily must have been rapidly advanced to the Roman status, but the stages of development are not clearly discernible. Immigration from

Italy must have been considerable in volume, from an early date. As early as 193 B.C. there was an organised association of 'Italici' in the country. Many Romans, Agrippa among them, held great estates there. The cultivation of large domains by slave labour, which gave rise to two disastrous wars, seems gradually to have passed away. Varro, in his work on agriculture, does not, like Cicero, describe Sicily as one of the "frumentary supports" of Rome, with Sardinia and Africa. It was no longer the 'larder' (*cella penaria*) of the Roman people, as old Cato had called it.

Sicily was a land of mixed population, and the distinctions between its ethnic elements only disappeared very slowly. Lucilius classed the Sicilians, with the Bruttians, as bilingual because many of them spoke Latin as well as Greek. But a third language, that of the Siculi proper, presumed to be of Italic origin, remained long in use. Hence, even in the second century, Apuleius declared the Sicilians to be trilingual, like some of the Africans who were known to him. The Sicilians are depicted by the Romans of the Classical age as naturally witty. But the old brilliance of the Hellenic time, in literature, philosophy and science, faded away under Roman rule. It is difficult to mention any native of the island who came to the front in any department of public life, after it was incorporated in the Roman dominions.

Returning to the African continent, we may look at the first district to the east of the Roman province of Africa, where Greek influence was in the ascendant. Pindar sang of the early glories of Cyrene under the Battiadae. From the middle of the fifth century it enjoyed republican freedom till it passed under Graeco-Egyptian domination. When the land fell to the Romans in 96 B.C. by the testament of the last king, they contented themselves with 'liberating' Cyrene and her four daughter cities, imposing on them a light taxation, payable in the precious 'silphium,' and annexing only the royal estates. Disorder compelled the institution of a provincial government in 74 B.C. Interesting information has been transmitted by Strabo, touching the internal constitution of Cyrene. There

were four classes of inhabitants. First the citizens *par excellence* (πολῖται) who claimed Greek descent, though there had been much intermarriage with the natives. Then there were 'peasants' (γεωργοί), probably of indigenous origin; also resident aliens (μέτοικοι) who seem to have possessed some municipal privileges; and Jews, who constituted a considerable part of the population. They appear to have formed a state within a state, for they had institutions proper to themselves, and were ruled by nine archons, after the Athenian fashion. The Jews of Cyrene, like those of Alexandria, Cyprus and other eastern places, rose with dire effect against the Roman government in the reign of Trajan and again in that of Hadrian. The historian Appian nearly perished in the earlier insurrection at Cyrene. In Roman times, this once brilliant city declined into insignificance, with the cities near it. Synesius, the great bishop of Cyrene at the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth, writes of its miserable state. Crete also, the island of ninety cities, as Homer has it in the Odyssey, or of a hundred realms, as Virgil puts it, had poor fortune under the Romans. It never recovered from the cruel destruction wrought by the conquest in 67 B.C. The status of the island was defined by an ordinance of Metellus, its conqueror. From the reign of Augustus onwards Crete and Cyrene formed one province. The towns retained their ancient general assembly (koinon) with an officer at its head called 'ruler of Crete' (Κρητάρχης), but of its functions nothing is known. The only immediate innovation, so far as is known, concerned the famous Cnossus, which became a Roman colony in the time of Antony and Cleopatra. The curious connexion between Cnossus and Capua, created by Augustus, has already come before us.

Egypt in very many respects held a peculiar position in the Roman empire and not least in regard to local government. In their internal administration the Ptolemies pursued a policy wholly unlike that which the Hellenistic princes adopted in Asia. There the general endeavour was to cover the land with municipalities, after the Greek idea. But the

Ptolemies maintained the age-long usage of their predecessors, only innovating when innovation was inevitable. And the Romans trod in the footsteps of the Ptolemies. The only 'Polis' which the Macedonian conquerors found in Egypt was Naukratis, a colony of Miletus, planted in the Delta in the sixth or seventh century B.C. It became a great emporium for Greek merchants, who were not permitted to settle permanently elsewhere in the country. Owing, probably, to this fact, its civic institutions were peculiar, but not much detail has come down to us. A garrison was maintained in the town, but it possessed freedom enough to rank as a proper Greek city commonwealth. Alexander left Naukratis as it was, but founded the great city named after him, to be the capital of his Egyptian province. He may have intended to endow Alexandria with all the characteristics of the Greek 'Polis,' but we have no evidence to show that the city possessed either Boulê or Ekklêsia. If these institutions existed, they must soon have been dissolved. The Romans found the city without them when they annexed Egypt. As the residence of the monarch, and the headquarters of the army, and as the home of a composite and turbulent population, Alexandria was not well qualified for the exercise of municipal freedom. Magistrates it had, but they were merely royal nominees. The Jewish residents held a separate position. Two out of the five quarters of the city were allotted to them and, to some extent, they administered their own law through officers of their own. The 'citizens' of Alexandria were the Greek element, but the citizenship was of a passive kind, resembling the 'civitas sine suffragio' of the Roman Republic. Excepting Naukratis, the only city in Egypt which approximated to the normal Greek type was Ptolemais in upper Egypt, not far from 'hundred-gated Thebes.' It was created by the first of the Ptolemies. At first its constitution included a Senate and a popular assembly, but they may not have survived throughout the Macedonian supremacy. The Ptolemies were true to the principles of Alexander in permitting valid marriage between Greeks and natives. But Naukratis did

not adopt the practice. In all other respects the 'citizenship' of the Greeks in Egypt was severed by a great barrier from the non-privileged status of the Egyptians. There was a division between law as administered to Greeks and law as meted out to natives. Although the formal crossing of the barrier was difficult, we may suppose that the circle of the 'Hellenes' was expanded by those irregular methods through which many western barbarians became burgesses of Rome. Hellenes who were not on the register of Naukratis or Ptolemais seem to have been regarded as citizens of Alexandria, which stood to the Greeks in Egypt much in the same relation as that of Rome to the Romans who were scattered through the empire, not being attached to Roman municipalities in the provinces. The Ptolemies maintained the local administrative divisions which were in existence when Alexander subdued Egypt. There were thirty-six great departments bearing the name of 'Nomos' and these were subdivided into 'Kômai.' At the centre of each Nomos was a town known as 'Metropolis,' whose character tended to become more and more Greek as time went on. But of local liberty there was nothing. The administration was of a highly centralised type, directed almost entirely to the production of revenue, and the officials were appointed by the government.

The system of the Ptolemies was adopted in its entirety by Augustus, when he became to all intents and purposes king of Egypt, and decided to keep it asunder from the general scheme of his empire. The municipal policy which Augustus pushed so vigorously in the West could not be applied here without making a sudden, profound and possibly dangerous revolution in the institutions which had grown up under the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies. The abandonment of a very rich revenue, easily raised from age-long custom, was too serious a result for the emperor to face. The reasons which had swayed the Ptolemies also debarred Augustus from giving ordinary local freedom even to Alexandria. Dio Cassius relates that "he commanded the Alexandrines to live their public life without senators," on account of their

tendency to riot, a charge amply borne out by their subsequent history. He refused to grant them one of the chief elements of Greek civic existence, at a time when he was giving municipal privileges to barbarians all over the West. Thus the city which the rhetorician Dio Chrysostomos in the first century represented as "second of those beneath the sun" and as the "Agora" of the world remained under a stigma of inferiority, as every Hellene must have regarded it. And Augustus did not even take the first step towards Romanising the country by planting colonists in it. We have an isolated statement by Pliny that Caesar settled a veteran colony at Pharos. There is no trace of it. Egypt continued to be the one Roman possession from which the colony, even the titular colony, was wholly absent. Many Roman citizens settled in Egypt, both before and after the Roman occupation, and their descendants, like the progeny of the immigrant Macedonians, enjoyed certain privileges there, but they formed no regular municipalities, nor yet the more elementary associations, such as the 'castellum' and the 'vicus.' Even the 'conventus civium Romanorum' is not known to have been formed outside Alexandria, though the Romans sometimes joined with the other residents in presenting honorific decrees and the like to officials. The formal separation between Greeks and natives which existed under the Ptolemies was left untouched by Augustus and his successors. Pliny the younger begged Trajan to grant Roman citizenship to a freedman. After the request had met with favour, it was pointed out to him that as the freedman was an Egyptian, it was necessary, according to precedent, that the citizenship of Alexandria should be obtained for him, in order to make him eligible for the Roman. It has often been supposed that even service with a legion would not release an Egyptian from this disqualification. In practice, perhaps, in Egypt, the recruiting of natives for the legions, with the gift of citizenship, common elsewhere, was unusual. But the emperor's prerogative could not be limited. A decree of Domitian came to light not long ago, by which citizenship and freedom from taxation were bestowed

on a number of veterans who had served under Titus before Jerusalem. In one respect, even the Greeks in Egypt were constitutionally penalised. When enfranchised they were excluded from the Roman Senate long after it had been opened to citizens of provincial derivation in general.

From the point of view of municipalism, there was complete stagnation in Egypt until Hadrian reorganised the 'metropolis' of one of the Nomes, and renamed it Antinooupolis, to do honour to his far-famed favourite Antinous, who was drowned in the Nile hard by. Each of the Nomes was distinguished by the worship of a particular divinity, whose shrine was in the central place. Here it was the crocodile god. A papyrus states that Antinooupolis was constituted after the pattern of Naukratis, but one difference is known, viz. that the burgesses of the new city were allowed to contract valid marriages with Egyptians. It seems that the Greeks in Egypt had the privilege of intermarriage with Romans. It is likely that the city named after Antinous had a Boulê but no Ekklêsia. The next reformer in Egypt was Septimius Severus, who like Hadrian paid the country a visit. According to the testimony of his biographer, he bestowed a Senate on the Alexandrines, and made many changes in the laws by which they were governed. Evidence newly discovered points to the conclusion that every 'metropolis' now received its Boulê. Mommsen believed that the favour shown to Alexandria by Severus sprang rather from a desire to spite the rival city of Antioch which, in common with a number of other emperors, he hated with a perfect hatred, than out of any love for Alexandria. The Antiochenes were inveterate and irreverent jesters. When the Alexandrines copied them and lampooned Caracalla, he made the imperial response of a massacre. The ordinances of Severus perhaps gave the Greeks in Egypt an accession of dignity rather than of liberty. But the gathering of local notables in the Boulê would bring with it some power of putting pressure on the central authority. No organ like the 'concilium provinciae' was ever brought into play in this country. The 'constitutio Antoniniana' of Caracalla turned

into Romans not all the inhabitants of Egypt but those who were recognised as Hellenes. The institutions of the towns, in all probability, remained as they were. The Boulê would appoint the municipal magistrates, as was elsewhere the case in that age. The towns were now peopled in large measure by Romans, in the legal sense, but they were not otherwise Roman towns. Any local liberties that may have been vouchsafed came at a time when municipal institutions began to decline. The stamp imprinted on Egypt first by the Pharaohs was never wholly obliterated, though the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine had a levelling effect here as elsewhere. The isolation of the country and its stagnation, so far as municipalism is concerned, when it is compared with the rest of the Roman world, become more striking, the more they are studied. Even in the fifth century, the Egyptians who were not 'Alexandrines' were ineligible for offices of state. Apart from the organisation of the towns, the records enable us to trace a gradual extension of Roman influence upon society; but it never went deep into the social structure. The army of occupation produced some of the usual consequences. Veterans settled down on the land after their services. Traces of Roman law and custom grow more clear, and Latin words make their way into the language of the Greeks. Roman names appear among the holders of farms, and of offices whose titles are Greek. On the other hand the Romans were greatly allured by the local forms of social and religious life, even by the peculiar funeral customs of the country. The use of Latin must have been very restricted. The whole number of documents couched in it, which have been recovered by explorers, is insignificant, when compared with those that are written in Greek. Latin seems rarely to have been the vehicle of education.

We have now to consider the process of municipal extension under the Romans in the vast regions of Asia which came under their control. Our survey of this sphere must be rapid and brief, principally because the Roman genius which was so grandly exhibited in the West, here

bowed to the genius of the Greek. In the whole of the Asiatic provinces of Rome, among many hundreds of towns, not so many as forty are known to have enjoyed the title of Roman colony, and there were few ordinary Roman municipalities. And the colonial title was in these Hellenised lands a title only, as a rule. Few settlers from the West were ever planted on the soil. Ten foundations can be assigned to Augustus. Of these seven were in the province of Galatia, two in Syria, and one in the province of Asia. Tiberius, as we have had occasion to realise, was no great establisher of colonies. None of his are known on the Asiatic side of the empire. Three towns referred their colonial honours to Claudius, one to Vespasian, one or two to Hadrian or Marcus Aurelius. The rest obtained the colonial designation from the Severi or from later emperors. One fact will show how slight was the effect of Roman rule on municipal life in Asia, as compared with the West. In the East there are hardly any Roman communities which took their rise from the presence of the troops, passing through the stage of the 'canabae,' to that of 'municipium' and 'colonia,' the development of which we have seen so many examples in the western provinces. A rare instance is that of a place called Eakkaia, in the region called Batanea, the Biblical land of Basan. The population was unruly and Herod tried to tame it by introducing civilised settlers. At Eakkaia there was a permanent Roman fort. This gave rise to a village which developed into a colony about the end of the first century. The Roman calendar and the Latin language remained in use here for a long period, and there are ruins of temples and other buildings of the usual colonial style. Many Latin-speaking veterans must have domiciled themselves as farmers elsewhere in the Asiatic lands, but the Greek conditions enveloped and submerged them. The towns which sprang up in the neighbourhood of camps seem almost invariably to have taken on them a Hellenic character, so far as their civic organisation is concerned.

The history of the realm of the Seleucids was far different from that of the Lagid monarchy, in respect of Greek coloni-

sation. The only Greek immigrants introduced *en masse* into Egypt by its Hellenistic rulers, apart from its garrison, were settled at Alexandria on its creation. The posterity of the Macedonian soldiers formed a sort of military caste, settled indeed on the soil, but bound to hereditary service, and forming a kind of permanent militia. It has often been observed that the system resembles that which ultimately prevailed in the Roman empire. In Egypt amalgamation between natives and Hellenes was discountenanced, excepting in so far as it was furthered by intermarriage. But Alexander and his successors deliberately poured over the Asiatic lands a great stream of settlers from the old Greek homes. They spread new examples of the 'Polis' over all Asia from the Hellespont to the confines of India. And Greeks united on equal terms with barbarians to establish the new cities. Whereas the great majority of the towns which became municipally Roman were never colonised from Rome or Italy, those called into existence by the Hellenistic princes generally received an admixture of colonists who either were Greek or had already been affected by Greek culture. Many Graeco-Asiatic cities of Hellenistic origin preserved on their coins and monuments the memory of the settlers who had played the leading part in their establishment. Not a few described their citizens as Macedonians. The people of Apollonia in Phrygia called themselves "Lycians and Thracians." The conception of the state which the successors of Alexander entertained strongly resembled that which Augustus entertained as the imperial ideal. In both cases the city was to be the constituent element of the several realms. So far as possible, gaps in the chain of municipalities were to be filled up. The town was to be the means of civilising the untamed tribes. The 'attributa regio' may be observed in Asia as in Europe. Tribal unities were to be broken up by the spread of the municipal principle. Of course the amount of independence which these eastern commonwealths possessed varied very much with the circumstances of the ruling monarchs. Sometimes a price had to be paid by them for the support of the

civic communities. In other parts of the world and in other times, variations of municipal freedom were due to just the same causes. The history of the older Greek cities in face of the Persian kings, and of many medieval cities in Europe, was very similar.

The eager ambition of the Seleucids and other Hellenistic rulers as founders of towns is reflected in the titles given to their new creations, taken commonly as they were from personal names used in their families. A great number of cities were thus called Antiochia, Seleucia, Apamea, Laodicea, Attalia, Eumenia, Apollonia. Seleucus Nikator is said to have designated seventeen cities as 'Antiochia,' in honour of his father; six as 'Laodicea' after his mother; nine as 'Seleucia' in his own honour; three as 'Apamea' from one of his wives, while another was commemorated by the title of the city of Stratonicea. And this impulse towards the establishment of new communities continued among the Graeco-Asiatic princes until they were swept out of existence by the Roman power. The founding of cities was the greatest mark and the proudest boast of the Hellenistic rulers down to the smallest princelet. Just as the comparative peace and prosperity bestowed on the Asiatic continent by the Macedonian conquest favoured the rise of cities, so the Roman restraint of the later internal disorder promoted the spread of the Greek 'Polis' over regions hitherto barbaric. In our survey the varying limits of many Asiatic provinces of Rome must be disregarded, and the references to the nomenclature of the districts included in them must follow, roughly, the popular ancient use of their names, without attempt at precision.

Roman Syria contained many cities of great and ancient fame, and many that were of Macedonian creation. The Hellenic immigration was on a more extensive scale here than in other parts of Asia. A large proportion of the new settlers were from Macedon and they brought with them from their native land many names of places, as has been the wont of immigrants in all ages. Such were Beroea, Larissa, Chalkis

and Pella (later renamed Apamea). The rich valley of the Orontes enticed many to make their homes there. Antigonus, the general of Alexander, established a strong city named Antigonia, which he peopled with Macedonians and Athenians When Seleucus Nikator founded Antioch, he transferred the inhabitants to it and supplemented them by Greeks or semi-Greeks from a number of lands, Aetolians, Argives, Cretans, Cyprians, Euboeans. In many other parts of Syria there was a large settled Hellenised population, and soon the usual kind of tradition grew up that there had been a great Hellenic immigration in far away prehistoric times. When the Romans ended the feeble rule of the last Seleucid, they annexed a realm in which Hellenisation was far advanced. The house of Seleucus had always claimed to be the legitimate heirs of Alexander. In their earlier age they had at times been able to exercise sovereignty over some of the great conqueror's acquisitions in far eastern regions. But after the battle of Magnesia the Romans clipped the wings of their fortune, and confined them to Syria and lands near it. Internal trouble and foreign war afterwards robbed them of many possessions and brought their monarchy to the verge of dissolution. Then Pompey stepped in, the man whom his bitter enemy Lucullus depicted as a vulture, feasting on bodies that he had not slain. The province of Syria was constituted by him, and we have now to glance at the position assigned in it by Rome to the municipalities and nationalities.

Historians have done scant justice to the powers of Pompey as a political organiser. These form a greater title to remembrance than all his feats of arms. His predecessors Sulla and Lucullus had done much to fix the relations of the sovereign authority with the regions traversed by the Roman armies in their contest with Mithridates. But the civil operations of Pompey were on a grander scale, and left their mark on many sections of Asia for the whole period of Roman ascendency. Syria was a chief field of his activity. He defined the status of every portion of a vast territory stretching from the upper waters of the Euphrates to the shores of the

gulf of Issus, and southward to the confines of Egypt, and eastward to the desert and its oases. In arranging the duties and privileges of the different parts of this huge tract, he followed long-established Roman precedent. That is to say, he introduced direct government by Roman authority to as small an extent as circumstances permitted. There had always been, as everywhere else in Asia, under every régime, that of the Persians included, a number of semi-independent princedoms, ruling especially over the 'nations' (ἔθνη) whom the Greeks were accustomed to contrast sharply with the 'cities' (πόλεις). As the Greek spirit penetrated more deeply, the area covered by the municipalities was continually enlarged at the expense of the area occupied by the nations. But in many districts the process was never carried to any point near completion. In the later days of the Seleucid dynasty, the princes as well as the civic communities had acquired much independence. Pompey arranged that government of Syria should in the main be carried on through the existing institutions, leaving to the Roman governor the task of general supervision and the maintenance of peace. The territories of the princes, numerous altogether, some large, some petty, were tributary to Rome from the first, and they gradually fell into Roman possession. After the first century there were not many feudatory states left in native possession. The towns also as a rule were subjected to taxation; even some which bore the proud title of 'free.' When Antioch became a titular colony in the reign of Caracalla, it continued to be subject to tribute. The ancient Phoenician cities, Tyre, Sidon and others had extorted their liberty from the kings of Syria and they called themselves in an especial sense 'autonomous' on their coins until Augustus took the privilege from them. One or two other towns had at first the same status. Some of the cities had in recent days been ruled by kings of their own. The last of these were executed by Pompey. The weight of Roman influence was continuously, from the conquest onwards, thrown into the scale to secure aristocratic forms of administration in the commonwealths. Democracy, however,

had, to all appearance, never been so prevalent in the Greek cities of Syria as among Hellenic communities in some other parts of Asia.

On the whole, the state of the commonwealths of Syria which were not within feudatory territories at first, was highly prosperous under the Romans. Antioch had a great career, though it never was, either under the Seleucids or later, a centre for literature, science, and art, like Pergamon and Alexandria. In his volume on the Roman provinces Mommsen has drawn a brilliant picture of the society and the licence of this famous city. Princes loved it as they have loved Paris in modern days. Roman emperors frequently made it their residence, and bestowed many favours upon it, though they were often at enmity with its mocking and irreverent population. Like Athens, Antioch was a spoiled city of the empire. Although it outraged the feelings of many rulers from Hadrian to Theodosius, it never suffered punishment such as Alexandria endured at the hands of Caracalla for like offences. Septimius Severus, indeed, degraded Antioch to the rank of a 'village,' and incorporated its territory with that of Laodicea, but its old privileges were soon restored. Julian tried to avenge himself by his wit, in the 'Misopogon,' but in a contest of this kind the Antiochenes were his masters. As in all Graeco-Oriental communities, the Jews formed a considerable element. But here, as we learn from Josephus, they were not a community apart. In the time of the Syrian monarchy they enjoyed the same rights as other citizens, and the Romans did not interfere with them, even after the fall of Jerusalem. The great glory of Antioch was the splendid park, named after Daphne, the nymph who spurned Apollo's advances and was changed by him into the laurel. To distinguish this Antioch from the many other Antiochs, the expression 'by Daphne' (ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ) was added to the name. To the eastern peoples, Antioch, the capital of Roman Syria, was like a second Rome, especially before the foundation of Constantinople; indeed, the name Rome was sometimes attached to it. Even at the end of the fourth

century Jerome entitled it "the metropolis of the East." The extraordinary prosperity of Antioch and of the valley of the Orontes during the time of Roman rule is evidenced by the ruins scattered along a great stretch of the river's course, towards the sea. There were many places almost of the stature of towns, but obviously not possessed of municipal institutions, as public buildings do not appear. They were doubtless within the territory of Antioch, which extended as far as Seleucia, the seaport of the capital. Due east of Antioch was Beroea, with a Macedonian name. It is now Aleppo and has far more importance than in ancient days. Many of the Syrian coast towns flourished considerably, among them the venerable Phoenician cities, Tyre, Sidon, and others. Their Punic character died away, and they acquired the usual features of the Mediterranean ports. Sidon was favoured by Elagabalus with the colonial title and on Tyre the same honour was bestowed with 'Italic rights' by Septimius Severus. One old Phoenician town, Berytus, which had been destroyed during the wars of the second century B.C. was reestablished by Agrippa as the 'Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix Berytus,' with the 'ius Italicum.' Its settlers were veterans of the Fifth Macedonic and the Eighth Augustan Legions. Herod and other princes of his family showed this community much favour and endowed it with splendid buildings. But its Roman character was not preserved intact. Greek lettering appears on some of its coins. The greatest fame of the city came from its school of Roman law. Even to-day Beirout is the most considerable port of Syria. Another city of high antiquity is Acre, an old Philistine town refounded during the Egyptian occupation of the country, and thence called Ptolemais. Its modern name is a reversion to a more ancient title. Claudius settled there as colonists men drawn from four legions, and the place has been notable to our day.

The Samaritan towns on or near the sea, and the old towns of the Philistines were released from princely rule and placed in relation to the provincial government. They boasted

in general their new 'autonomy' on their coinage and started a new era with the Roman occupation. The Romans on their entry set to work to restore a number of towns which had fallen into decay during the commotions of the last century of Seleucid rule. This was the task of Gabinius, the first governor of Syria. Thus old Philistinish cities like Gaza and Ascalon and Azotus (Ashdod) were brought to vigorous life again. Gaza, like many another Graeco-Oriental commonwealth, paraded as "holy and inviolable and autonomous." Ascalon was prosperous under Roman rule. It was beautified by Herod the Great and in the day of Ammianus the historian it was the finest city of Palestine. But it is now desolate, though there is much wreckage from the time of its ancient fortune. Other reconstituted towns in this district were Samaria and five more, named by Josephus, who adds that there were others not a few. In the land known as 'Hollow Syria,' the ten towns (Decapolis) were 'freed.' The ten with one exception lay to the east of Jordan. On the west was Scythopolis, the most important of all. Gadara became at this time 'autonomous.' It adopted on some of its coins the title "Pompeian." In the age of the Antonines it proclaims itself in Greek as "sacred, inviolable and autonomous." In the later imperial age it was a titular Roman colony, by the name of Colonia Valentia Gadara. Some fine ruins, especially of two theatres, are extant. From the indications which have been cited (and there are many others) it will be realised that Pompey, whose policy was sanctioned by the government, made it a cardinal principle of the new arrangements that cities should so far as possible be allowed a certain amount of local independence and should be used as a means of administration, so as to relieve the Roman burden. We must now speak of the princedoms which Pompey left in existence in or on the borders of Syria, and especially we must consider the state of the important towns which lay within the princely territories.

By far the most interesting to moderns of the protected states under monarchic rule hereabouts are those which were

placed under the control of the Idumaean kings or tetrarchs. No other princes within the empire played a greater part in municipal development than Herod the Great and his family. It was doubtless the desire of Pompey that Judaea should be divided up as far as possible into civic 'territoria' and left to self-government with supervision. But the restlessness of the people and the turmoil caused by Parthian invasion and civil war, frustrated the design. Antipater the Idumaean was established by Caesar as a financial agent ('procurator') with a good deal of accompanying authority. His son Herod followed him and obtained the title of king; but he was under the protection of a legion stationed at Jerusalem. The country was laid under heavy taxation. In Judaea itself Jerusalem was the only organised city. All other places were of the standing to which the Greeks assigned the designation of 'village' (kômê). Some of them were of considerable size, but their administration was dependent on the capital city. In this respect Judaea proper under Herod resembled Egypt under the Ptolemies and the Romans alike.

One main principle of Herod and his successors was to ring round their Jewish subjects with newly-constituted communities of Hellenistic pattern. They were aided in this design by the temporary subjection of some of the 'liberated' cities, Ascalon for example, to their control. The new foundations were of course endowed in part with territory which had previously been within the jurisdiction of Jerusalem. The earliest of Herod's new foundations was at Samaria, which he renamed Sebastê, a rendering of Augusta. The place had been of no great consequence, but now extensive walls were built and six thousand burgesses, partly drawn from the Roman army, partly from the surrounding country, were domiciled in it. A few years later an old decayed town on the coast near Joppa, called Stratonis Turris, was rebuilt and provided with a splendid harbour, larger than Piraeus, and also with a new name, Caesarea. Both here and at Sebastê temples were erected in honour of Augustus and Roma, who were in Caesarea represented by colossal statues. Caesarea

was a chief seat of Roman administration when Judaea became a province governed by an imperial procurator. Hence Tacitus calls the place "the capital of Judaea." The Jews and Gentiles in the city were frequently at strife, with much bloodshed. So Nero deprived the Jews of their equal rights as citizens. Vespasian was first proclaimed emperor in Caesarea, and he made it a colony, with some exemption from ordinary taxation. Then his son Titus gave it the 'ius Italicum.' In the plain of Esdraelon at Gaba Herod settled cavalrymen as colonists and they appear in Josephus as enemies of the Jews. Another town, Antipatris, commemorated Herod's father; yet another, Agrippias, the general of Augustus. Herod's family continued his policy. Philip the Tetrarch established Caesarea Paneas in the Trachonitis, and refounded Bethsaida, giving it a new name Iulias, taken from that of the notorious daughter of Augustus. By another foundation the empress Livia was celebrated. Herod Antipas created the famous new city of Tiberias on the west shore of the lake of Gennesareth. Josephus has given an account of its inauguration, which reminds us of many a Greek 'Synoikismos' or gathering together of people for a newly constructed 'Polis.' Compulsion was used to bring the settlers together, and rich as well as poor were forced to take part. Lands and houses were given them and privileges to console them, and all were put to their oaths not to abandon their new domicile. But apparently Tiberias was Jewish in sentiment, for when the great insurrection came the Gentile citizens were massacred. The experiments made by the Herod family in constituting cities of Jewish and Gentile elements had no happy results. The origin of Neapolis in the district near Samaria is matter for doubt. It may have been a Macedonian colony. At some unknown time Emmaus was refounded as Nikopolis, one of many towns bearing that name. It lies beyond my province to trace the fluctuations of Roman relations with the Jews in their administration. The tragedy of tragedies came with the destruction of Jerusalem, in 70 A.D.

The only other great cities which were ever so cruelly treated by Rome were Carthage and Corinth. The last Jewish prince, Herod Agrippa II survived into Trajan's reign. Few Jews remained in Judaea after the great Jewish war of Hadrian's reign. This was followed by the reconstitution of the sacred city as a Roman colony by the name of Aelia Capitolina, derived in part from Hadrian, and in part from Jupiter Capitolinus, who was established where Jehovah's temple had stood. On the coins figure this divinity and the genius of the colony, who assumes the shape of Astarte.

A number of the most important cities in this portion of the Roman world lay within the borders of other protected native states, which were only gradually annexed. Commagene, a rich district in the north, was not taken over till 17 A.D. and the annexation was cancelled by Caligula, only to be repeated by Vespasian. The capital was the famous city of Samosata, the birthplace of Lucian. In 71 A.D. it adopted the title 'Flavia' and a new 'era'; but it does not seem to have been colonised by Rome. One of the native princes named a city 'Germanicia Caesarea,' in honour of the imperial house. It was a strong fortress on the west bank of the Euphrates and was made the headquarters of a legion, and was of conspicuous importance in all the Parthian wars. Between Commagene and Antioch there lay a district which seems to have been divided up into city territories. One of the towns here, Beroea, due east of Antioch, about half way to the Euphrates has already been mentioned as a Macedonian foundation. Another place, about fifty miles to the north-east, was Hierapolis, the great seat of the worship of Atergatis, the Syrian Aphrodite. There had been priest-dynasts here, but they had lost their power before the Roman era. South-west of Beroea was an important fortress, Chalkis, which called itself Flavia, having, it seems, been liberated from some princely domination by Domitian. On a great route passing southward from Chalkis and ultimately reaching the sea at Berytus, lay the Hamath of the Old Testament, renamed Epiphaneia; but it has reverted nearly to its more ancient

title and is still a large town, called Hama. Farther south on this route is Hemesa, also flourishing still under a name (Höms) derived from its ancient designation. The priest-kings of the great Sun-god ruled here till the time of Domitian, and even after that retained the right to issue coins. One family name in the ruling house was Sampsiceramus or Sampsigeramus, which Cicero adopted as a nickname for Pompey. It is curious to find on an inscription of the year 78 A.D. mention of a C. Iulius Sampsigeramus, a Romanised member of the mediatised house. The great glory of Hemesa came when it gave emperors to Rome, Elagabalus, and Severus Alexander. The fourteen-year-old priest of the Sun-god took the name of the Stoic emperor, Marcus Aurelius, but his contemporaries fastened on him that of the Oriental divinity with whom he identified himself. Hemesa became a colony with Italic privilege, by favour of Septimius Severus. In all eastern wars it was of much consequence. Under its walls the Palmyrene princess, Zenobia, met with a crushing defeat by the forces of Aurelian. The route already mentioned leads on to Heliopolis, not far from the sources of the Orontes. It is famous now as Baalbek for its fine relics of antiquity. The ruined temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was reared by Antoninus Pius. In the reign of Augustus the city became the 'Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix Heliopolis,' and veterans were settled there drawn from the two legions who also supplied the colonists to Berytus. At the temple of Jupiter contests were held which are described on coins by titles that are really Greek, spite of the colonisation by legionaries (*certamina sacra Oecumenica Iselastica*). Similar descriptions occur elsewhere. The city of Heliopolis was before the Roman age dependent on the rulers of a principality whose capital was Chalkis, the city of that name on the slope of Lebanon. This dominion was bestowed on Cleopatra by Antony, and by Claudius on a line of Idumaean princes, who reigned till Domitian's time. Then Chalkis was 'freed' and designated itself as 'Flavian.' The tetrarchy of Abilene, so called from Abila between Heliopolis and Damascus, was in Idumaean possession and was annexed by Claudius.

The splendid city of Damascus was once called by an Oxford poet (in a line which has alone remained from his works) "A rose-red city, half as old as time." Its history goes back to the second millennium before Christ. Damascus first came into relation with Rome when Pompey seized it in 64 B.C. and held there magnificent state, receiving the homage of princes and grandees. The glories of the city, opulent from the garden-like land around it, watered by many streams, have been the theme of travellers for ages. It was enriched also by the passage of commerce along the great trade routes that ran through it. It was not continuously in Roman hands till 106 A.D. When St. Paul had there his perilous adventure, it was dependent on the Nabataean rulers of Petra. A prince of Damascus named Malchus fought in Vespasian's army against the Jews. In Hadrian's time, the city was glorified by the title of 'Metropolis.' Severus Alexander distinguished it by the colonial title. Julian calls it "the eye of all the East" and its fame was still mighty under Islamic rulers. The territory attached to it was abnormally extensive and bordered on that of Sidon, as we learn from the record of a struggle about boundaries in the reign of Tiberius.

The date mentioned above, 106 A.D., was important for the history of this region of the world. In that year the 'Legio Tertia Cyrenaica' was quartered at Bostra, where it remained for two centuries. When Trajan constituted the Roman province of Arabia, he made Bostra its seat of government. Hence the city delighted to call itself "the new Bostra of Trajan" (Νέα Τραιάνη Βόστρα). More than a century afterwards it received the colonial title and began to strike coins with Latin superscription. In the middle of the third century Bostra gave an emperor to Rome in the person of 'Philip the Arabian,' who commemorated himself by founding the colony of Philippopolis twelve miles from Bostra. The wonderful rock city of Petra passed into Roman hands at the same date. A little later it added to its name a reference to Hadrian; but it is not known to have become a colony. It possessed a Boulê and a Dêmos like the ordinary Greek

commonwealth. The trade passing through Bostra and Petra to the coast of course affected the Jews; and their prophets were wont to announce coming disaster to Edom and to the palaces of Bostra.

Another place, conspicuous in the chequered history of the third century, which began to be controlled by Rome about the same time, was Palmyra. Unlike many of the great Oriental towns its recorded history begins late. It lay eastward of Hemesa, bordered by the great Arabian desert. Connected by caravan routes with the Euphrates, Damascus, Tyre and Petra, it flourished by trade, and its greatness was owing in part to the comparative peace which Rome bestowed on the districts of the East dominated by her. Many cities grew and expanded their influence under the new conditions. Palmyra had been under the rule of the Seleucids, and its civic organisation was on the usual Hellenic lines. But its native language, like that of many another Syrian town, even when it became titularly Roman, was Aramaic in character. Palmyra was prosperous in the time of Antony, who coveted its riches, but in vain. Some trace of early contact with Rome is presented by a tribal division in the city, which took its name from Claudius. It is even possible that when Germanicus was in the East he arranged for tribute to be payable to Rome. After a visit from Hadrian, it began to dub itself "Hadrian's Palmyra," but without attempting to Romanise its institutions. Before they incorporated the city with their dominions, the Romans had entrusted the authorities of Palmyra with the protection of the trade routes which met there. Septimius Severus or Caracalla gave it colonial status with Italic privilege. The nearness of Palmyra to the Parthians forced the emperors to pay regard to it. Its splendour and far-reaching power under the Odenathi, nominal representatives of the emperors, but actual rulers, form a familiar tale. Their ambition led to the destruction of the city by Aurelian in 273. Of Latin there are but the scantiest traces in Palmyra, and Greek was more in official than in private use. The names of the greatest Palmyrenes are Aramaic. Zenobia was properly

Bath Zabbai; and her son was Vahballath, though he had a Greek name, Athenodorus.

Some important cities lying on or near or beyond the Euphrates and Tigris, remain to be mentioned. Nearly south of Samosata and also situated on the Euphrates was Edessa, capital of a district lying east of the river, called Osrhoene. The name Edessa was Macedonian. The place had connexion by road with Samosata and by a desert route with Carrhae, famous for the defeat of Crassus. Eastward ran a road to Nisibis in Mesopotamia. Augustus deliberately made the Euphrates here the imperial boundary. Edessa was endowed with Hellenic organisation by the Seleucids, but when their kingdom broke up, a line of princes ruled, whose patronymic was Abgar. The mythical correspondence between Christ and an Abgar is well known. Until Sulla and Pompey stepped in and made Osrhoene a vassal state of Rome, it had been dependent either on Armenia or on Parthia. The importance of Edessa to Rome was that of a strong fortress and a stumbling-block in the way of Parthian invasion. Hellenism was not firmly rooted there. When disaster befell the empire, Edessa became a chief centre of Syriac literature. From the time of Caracalla, it was privileged to call itself a Roman colony. Edessa was included in the province of Mesopotamia, created by Trajan; but the Roman hold on this province was precarious and sometimes interrupted. Among cities in it was Carrhae, settled as a colony by Marcus Aurelius, and Nisibis, which received the title from Septimius Severus. It was a strong fortress. It was felt by Romans to be a deep disgrace when the Parthians forced Jovian to abandon Nisibis, after Julian fell. Other colonies were Rhesaena, a considerable town between Nisibis and Edessa; Singara, south-east of Nisibis, and Zautha on the Euphrates, a few miles south of Carchemish. The 'colonies' in these regions were not punctilious in the use of the Latin alphabet on their coins, and Latin can have had little vogue in them at any time. Notable among the Greek settlements in this land was Seleucia on the Tigris, which seems never to

have accepted a Roman title. Its history shows the remarkable force which Hellenic tradition could exercise even in the most alien environment. Seleucia was included in the Roman province of Mesopotamia. Strabo says that it had taken the place of Babylon as "the metropolis of Assyria." Near it was Ctesiphon, a great ancient city which is most prominent in the annals of war between Parthia and Rome. Yet, because it had nothing of the civic character which the Greeks recognised, Strabo chose to call it a 'village' (kômê). Seleucia was able to bid defiance to the Parthians many times over during the prolonged contest between the eastern and western forces. The elder Pliny calls it "a free city which maintains its Macedonian character," while Tacitus asserts that it was not corrupted by barbarism, but clung to the fashion of Seleucus its founder. He further tells that the city had a senate of three hundred members; and that the populace had their own place in the constitution. When the citizens were at unity they could, Tacitus says, set Parthia at nought. But desolation overtook this bulwark of Hellenic civilisation. After the time of Lucius Verus it is heard of no more. So far as can be ascertained, the semi-Hellenic towns of these regions showed as a rule more sympathy for the Parthians than for the Romans. Even beyond the limits of Mesopotamia, in what was for a short time the Roman province of Assyria, cities maintained some semblance of Greek culture.

Of all the Oriental provinces acquired by Rome none have so much importance for the municipal and general history of the empire as those to which the Romans gave the names of Syria and Asia. We will first take a glance at the less civilised districts to the north and west of Syria and come to Asia later. The vast regions north of the Taurus range, and eastward to Armenia and the Caucasus, only came late into Roman control, and even then only partially. In 133 B.C. the realms of the kings of Pergamum were placed at the disposal of Rome by the testament of the last prince, Attalus. Much suspicion justly attaches to the tales of testaments executed by monarchs in favour of

the Roman power, and until lately the will of Attalus could only be hesitatingly accepted. But an inscription discovered not long ago has removed the doubts of its genuineness. The dominions of Pergamum had been continuously increased during the cooperation between the Attalids and the Romans. The anxiety of the government here, as everywhere, was to reduce to a minimum the difficulties involved in an immediate administration of acquired territory far away from Italy. A very large part of the Pergamene possessions was bestowed upon dynasts. Many portions of them were rich in civic commonwealths. The local independence of these was recognised, subject in most instances to the payment of stipulated taxes. Every advance in Asia was characterised by the same treatment. The number of principalities, large and small, scattered over it, when Augustus began to reign, was enormous. These were gradually extinguished, until by the end of the first century very few remained. In some of the wilder regions, the mountain districts of Pisidia, for example, and western Cilicia, and in the Caucasus and even in the region lying between Mount Ida and Mount Olympus, there were princes all through the Roman period, some of whom were little more than robber chiefs. It was not worth the while of the dominant power to establish an effective military occupation in such regions. The abolition of the large princedoms had important consequences. The monarchs were not only tributary, but bound to supply military contingents, and the Roman burden was greatly increased when this obligation vanished. Some of the more important city commonwealths, for example Miletus, and on the Euxine Heracleia and Sinôpê, could maintain naval or military forces of some account, but they were not organised in masses like the armies and fleets kept on foot by the monarchs. Along with the disappearance of the local rulers went the increase in the number of the city states. The two processes were naturally and inevitably connected. Failing the native princes, the early policy of Rome in Asia was to place as much territory as possible under the control of civic

corporations. And while the princes lasted, they too carried out the same idea, under the stimulus given and the ambitions implanted of old by the Hellenic influence. Many causes combined to bring about the existence, especially in the northern and central parts of Asia Minor, of town 'territoria' which were on the scale of small kingdoms. On the other hand, the extra-territorial districts were abnormally large. This was attributable to two principal facts. In the first place, in all native monarchies large estates went with the crown. When the monarchies disappeared, these tracts became the property of the Roman people in the earlier days, but in the later of the emperor himself. Then again, Asia Minor was the great home of the priestly states, where extensive stretches of country were governed by men who were in the first place priests, and only in the second place rulers. In the pages of Strabo, we may read of the enormous power exercised by these priest-kings. At first the Romans did not venture to abolish them. They freely disposed of the offices, however, and altered to some extent the limits of the territories, as was the case with the princedoms. Indeed the priest-kings were usually of the same race with the temporal kings, within whose realms the shrines were situated. The dissolution of a temple-state connected with the worship of Men Askaios, near Antioch in Pisidia, when the dominions of Amyntas, king of Galatia, were taken over, was unusual. In other places, municipalities were installed side by side with the priest-prince and these must have had 'territoria' assigned to them at his expense. Pompey carried out this measure at Kabeira in Pontus, which he "fashioned into a city" (to use Strabo's phrase), and renamed Diospolis. Zêla was a great centre of the worship of the goddess Anaitis, and the priest there wielded very great power. His territories underwent many changes, sometimes for the better, sometimes for the worse, but the ultimate issue was that they were restricted. Pompey installed a municipality in Zêla itself.

Strabo has given a very interesting account of the temple-state of Komâna in Pontus, devoted, like the priestly centre

of the same name in Cappadocia, to the worship of the goddess Mâ, sometimes called Enyo. An ancestor of Strabo had held the priesthood in the Pontic Komâna. Pompey and his successors disposed arbitrarily of the office itself, but in the earlier period at least the lands attached to it were increased. A certain Adiatorix, a Galatian prince, favoured by Antony, had carried out a massacre of Romans. He and his family were paraded in the triumph of Augustus after Actium, and it was decreed that with him his eldest son should die. The second son claimed to be the eldest, in order to save his brother, and the father persuaded the eldest to yield, after a serious dispute. Augustus was so struck by the story that he bestowed on the youth the priesthood at Komâna. The general tendency, as time went on, was for the priests' lands everywhere, in so far as they were not bestowed on municipalities, to fall into the hands of the emperor. The vast imperial possessions in Asia Minor gave a bent to social and political history which is of the profoundest importance; but we are only concerned with them as limiting the expansion of the municipal system. As regards the cities of Asia Minor we have already noticed that the adherence given to Hellenism by Pompey determined the policy of the empire in regard to the countries which he regulated. It was the Greek Polis and not the Italic municipium, with but few exceptions, which the Romans applied to local government in Asia. It only remains to observe here that the limits of the new provinces were many times changed, and that it is impossible, within our brief space, to maintain minute accuracy in the use of the provincial designations.

Northward of Syria and Commagene lay Cappadocia. About 95 B.C. the line of dynasts died out, and the Roman Senate offered the Cappadocians their 'freedom.' Much to the astonishment of the senators, they begged to be allowed to select a king because they were not fit for 'freedom,' and so chose Ariobarzanes, whose descendants ruled, with intervals of exile, till Antony established on the throne Archelaos.

On his death after a long reign Tiberius annexed his dominions and Germanicus organised them as a province. The unfitness for liberty of which the Cappadocians were strangely, almost uniquely, conscious rested, it may be conjectured, on the backwardness of the country, compared with others near. Strabo says that when the Romans entered it there were only two cities, Mazaka and Tyana, both bearing the title 'Eusebeia,' derived from Ariarathês Eusebês, a prince who had been specially devoted to Hellenism. Mazaka became Caesarea, but without changing its civic status until Caracalla made it a colony. Even later, the Greek alphabet was used on its coins. Strabo has a curious tale that Mazaka in early days adopted the code of laws attributed to Charondas, and had an officer called 'nomôdos,' who interpreted the law like the Roman jurisconsults. Tyana, also a colony of Caracalla, was famous as the birthplace of the great Apollonios, mystic, seer, wonderworker and philosopher. Philostratos, the author of the mythical biography, describes Tyana as "a Greek city in the Cappadocian land." It lay at the foot of the Taurus mountains and commanded the northern exit of the great pass known as the 'Cilician gates.' The Romans preserved an organisation long established in Cappadocia to which parallels are found in Egypt, Thrace, and in Greater Armenia. The land was divided up, not into municipal territories, but into ten 'generalships' (stratêgiai). The Roman history of the province is a continuous history of the creation of civic bodies; but their official structure was nearly always Greek. By the time of Constantine, the 'generalships' had vanished, and the country was overspread by municipalities, excepting in those vast districts which were the appanage of the emperor. The contrast between municipal 'territoria' and the extra-municipal domains of the monarch made a broad dividing line in the administration, so that in Justinian's time the population was described as partly 'fiscal,' partly 'free.' Archelais, a city founded by the last king, Archelaos changed its name to Claudiopolis on acquiring colonial rights.

It was an important place still in Byzantine times. Whether any other centres in Cappadocia were similarly distinguished is uncertain. A village where Faustina, the consort of Marcus Aurelius, died, became Faustinopolis, but probably was not Romanised. Diocaesarea was possibly of Roman origin. Very near by was Nazianzus, famous in the early Christian story. A number of villages which grew to the stature of towns in Cappadocia were connected with military posts, but these did not give birth to Roman communities. The great priestly state of Komâna was left by the Romans much as they found it, for at least a long period, but it was renamed Hierocaesarea, perhaps because a municipality was established.

The limits of Cappadocia for the purposes of administration varied from time to time. Three districts, ruled by princes, were annexed by the early emperors and, after being attached to Galatia, were included in Cappadocia. These were Pontus Galaticus, which Augustus took into direct government; Pontus Polemoniacus, so named from a king placed there by Antony, whose line ruled till Nero's reign, and Armenia Minor. Thus official Cappadocia stretched to the shores of the Euxine. On the coast line there were many small seaports, more or less Hellenic; and one noble city, Trapezus (Trebizonde), whose value to the Romans was equalled by few in Asia Minor. It was the base for the fleet of the Euxine, which rendered splendid service in supplying the Roman armies during the wars in Armenia. It was a great emporium of trade between East and West, and a mighty fortress it has been all through the ages till now. Between inland Cappadocia and the sea were but few towns of high rank. The religious centre, Kabeira, in Pontus Polemoniacus, has been already mentioned; also Komâna and Zêla in Pontus Galaticus. In Lesser Armenia, a very extensive district, Pompey founded Nikopolis, on a spot where he had defeated Mithridates. A number of small towns besides are known, some of them the offspring of the Roman occupation. Greater Armenia reached the summit

of its power in the hands of Tigranes, the contemporary of Mithridates. In a few years it was expanded into a great mushroom empire, extending far to the east, and including (for a time) Cappadocia, and large parts of Syria and Cilicia. The final scenes of the contest with Mithridates, after 70 B.C., had far more to do with Armenia than with the Pontic king. The Romans could not endure its swollen proportions and determined to restrict it to its ancient boundaries. Annexation was not carried out here till 114 A.D., but Trajan's measure was cancelled three years later by Hadrian. The kingdom was less responsive to Hellenic culture than countries to the west and south. The court of Tigranes was far more oriental and barbaric than that of Mithridates. But the Armenian princes were themselves constructors of towns. The earlier capital, Artaxata, a great fortress, is said to have owed its existence to advice which Hannibal gave to the king. One of the strangest romances of city-making is presented by the history of the strong royal city called Tigranocerta after the name of its founder. When Lucullus penetrated Armenia, its walls were still unfinished. Tigranes had forced many of the richest families to make their domicile there, and had swept into the city a motley herd of 300,000 inhabitants, Greeks and Orientals. A number of Greek cities, including Soli and Mazaka, were depopulated. Lucullus destroyed the place and returned most of the enforced burgesses to their homes. But the city came to life again. When Corbulo took it in the reign of Nero it was "powerful from the number of its defenders and the extent of its fortifications" (Tacitus). To the eastward of the part of the Euxine shore which belonged to Cappadocia were a number of petty princedoms and some cities of Greek foundation, over which Rome exercised suzerainty, but did not attempt to rule them directly. In the Cimmerian Bosporos (Crimea) were Hellenic cities of some note, which could only maintain themselves with difficulty against the inroads of Scythian and other barbarians. Mithridates constituted himself the champion of the Greeks there, and his son ruled for a time. A native

dynasty subsisted with the support of Rome, down into the fourth century. Their coins display the head of the Roman emperor as well as that of the prince. The names of the local rulers became increasingly barbaric in appearance with the lapse of time. Two centuries before this dynasty died out, all other lines of client princes of any great importance in the Roman empire had disappeared. The chief city of the Bosporos, Panticapaeum (Kertch), was a colony of Miletus. It possessed a certain autonomy, guaranteed by Rome.

The extensive province of Galatia comprised at all times populations of varied character; but the component elements of the district to which the Romans attached the name were changed repeatedly. The province was first constituted in 25 B.C. on the death of the king Amyntas, who had ruled for a long period by grace of Rome. In the first century it embraced, in addition to the territories inhabited by the Gaulish tribes, in Galatia proper, the countries of Pisidia and Lycaonia, the portion of Cilicia which was known as Isauria, eastern Phrygia, and a large section of Paphlagonia, besides, for a time, the Pontic districts and the lesser Armenia which were attached later to Cappadocia. The language and in great part the organisation of Galatia proper remained Celtic to a late time, but the influence of Hellenism in the country is attested by the name 'Gallo-greek' which the Romans gave to the inhabitants. In religion the descendants of the Gaulish settlers adopted thoroughly the cults which they found in the land, peopled of old by Phrygians and Cappadocians. Like the Celts in Gaul and in Britain, the Celts of Galatia did not incline greatly towards urban life. Pliny speaks of 195 'populi' in Galatia, communities resembling the Gaulish 'civitates,' and subdivisions of the great clans, of which the chief were the Trocmi, the Tectosages and the Tolistobogii. The centre of the first-named of these clans was Tavium, of the second Ancyra, of the third Pessinus. All became cities of importance, and with the exception of the one Roman colony in the land, no others in Galatia are known to have issued coins. Ancyra was the

centre of Roman administration, and this raised it to eminence, for Strabo describes it as a 'garrison-place' merely (*φρούριον*). Legend attributed its foundation to the famous Midas and etymology lent its accustomed aid to legend. In the temple of Zeus was preserved, Pausanias says, an anchor (*ἄγκυρα*) found by Midas on the spot, from which the city took its name. Close by also was a spring into which Midas poured wine, in order to make a prisoner of Silenus. Ancyra is now known to us best by the 'Monumentum Ancyranum,' the chief authority for the text of the famous autobiography of Augustus. Here the memorial was attached to a temple of Rome and Augustus. The establishment of the imperial cult at Ancyra shows that almost immediately after the annexation of Galatia this city was marked out for future distinction. Better known to the world at large was Pessinus, the seat of the worship of the Great Mother of Mount Ida. Her image or rather her shapeless stone or wooden symbol had been removed by king Attalus I of Pergamum to his capital, and in 205 B.C. was made over to Rome by him. The acceptance by the Romans of an orgiastic Oriental ritual, of which no other example was officially received for four centuries, shows how intense was the superstition generated by the disasters of the Hannibalic war. The priests who conducted the services of the goddess at Rome always bore the name of 'Galli,' and were indeed not Romans for a very long time after the goddess was domiciled at Rome. Pessinus, too, was thought to be etymologically named, because the sacred symbol fell down there from heaven (*ἀπὸ τοῦ πεσεῖν*). Strabo informs us that the privileges of the priests, who were once powerful dynasts, had been greatly diminished by the Romans; no doubt by the municipal rights which were bestowed by them on the inhabitants of Pessinus. One Roman colony was established in the Celtic territory by Augustus, at Germa. The municipal history of Galatia is obscure. But the records of early Christianity make it clear that there was a great development of urban life in the first three imperial centuries. The name

of one town, Orkistos, has become familiar to scholars because inscriptions have been preserved which give a rare glimpse of the process whereby municipal honours might be obtained from an emperor. It is known from another source that in 237 B.C. Orkistos was in possession of civic rights. But the inscriptions in question indicate that these had been lost, we know not how, and that the town had been lowered to the rank of a 'vicus' and subjected to a neighbouring place, Nakoleia. A portion of a petition addressed to the emperor Constantine and the two Caesars, his sons Crispus and Constantius, is preserved. Its date lies somewhere between 323 and 326. It is couched in Latin and sets forth the ancient dignity and the actual prosperity of Orkistos. The memorial was presented to the 'vicarius' of the 'dioikêsis' in which the town was situated. He passed it on to his superior officer, the 'praefectus praetorio per Orientem,' Ablabius, who is known to have held the office for a long period. This official laid it before the emperor, and published the emperor's answer, with a preamble. The rescript is addressed to Ablabius and enumerates the points urged by the memorialists. Thus the defects of that part of the inscription which gave the original petition are supplemented. The emperor expresses the pleasure with which he has received the request, because he is anxious to found new cities, to honour those which are ancient, and to restore any that are in decay. He directs that the town should regain its "ancient rights" (*ius antiquum*) and should bear once more "the name of 'civitas'." These privileges are summed up as "the splendour of its laws and of its title." Then another imperial rescript is given, dated 330. The people of Nakoleia had still attempted to compel Orkistos to pay tribute for land now included in its 'territorium.' The emperor says that the financial officer (*rationalis*) of the 'dioikêsis' has orders to see that the payment is not exacted. The use of the word 'civitas' in the inscription is surprisingly loose. In the first rescript Constantine speaks of Orkistos as "even now" a town and a "civitas." But later he says that

the place has lost its right to be denominated a 'civitas,' and that he formally restores the privilege. It may be observed that though the correspondence is in Latin, there is no likelihood that the civic structure of Orkistos had ever been Roman, or was even now intended to be Roman.

We may pass to Pisidia, and first of all may be mentioned a document whose contents are similar to the charter of Orkistos. It is a rescript, in Latin, of an unknown emperor (probably Diocletian) conferring municipal honours on the town of Tymandus, in northern Pisidia. The emperor declares that it is "ingrained in him" (*ingenitum*) to increase the distinction and the number of 'civitates' throughout the world. He therefore assigns to Tymandus the rights of a 'civitas,' because the townsmen undertake that "a sufficient number of senators" shall be forthcoming. He gives the right of meeting in the senate house and of passing decrees and of doing all things that the law permits to incorporated communities. The appointment of aediles and quaestors (obviously by the local senate) is specially mentioned. Most details are left to be arranged by the official to whom the rescript is addressed. But the number of senators is not to be less than fifty and the emperor hopes that the town may grow in strength and the number may be increased. The constitution of Tymandus is intended to be of Greek type and the titles 'aedilis' and 'quaestor' would be rendered by '*ἀγορανόμος*' and '*ταμίας*' or equivalent terms. The records of Orkistos and Tymandus, probably specimens of a large class, indicate that even in the age of Diocletian and Constantine, when the system of taxation was becoming most adverse to municipal ideas, the municipal movement had by no means spent its force. In that period the collection of imperial taxes depended on the local senates, and the emperor's anxiety to increase their number is intelligible.

Unlike Galatia proper, Pisidia was rich in cities. In his 'Historia Numorum,' Head describes the coinage of twenty-six. Many of these possessed very extensive domains.

Several, including Sagalassus, a rich city and strong fortress in the north, and Selge on the southern slope of Taurus, claimed to be Spartan foundations. But these legends, found everywhere in Asia Minor, were the product of the late Graeco-Oriental imagination, and testify only to the penetration of the Hellenic civilisation. Most of the cities had belonged to Pergamum after the battle of Magnesia and in 133 had been 'liberated.' Before the defeat of Antiochus, Pisidia had been subjected to the influence of the Macedonians, the Seleucids and the Ptolemies. Agriculture was promoted by the 'Roman peace' and was carried up the mountain slopes. As a consequence the cities were prosperous, and signs of the development are afforded by remains of great amphitheatres and other buildings of the imperial age. A town named Termessus Maior is of special interest because connected with it is one of the few original documents which we possess that throw light on the dealings of the Roman government with the non-Roman civic communities in the Republican age. This is a fragment of a tribunician law passed in 71 B.C. and known as the 'lex Antonia de Termessibus.' It declares that the relations between the burgesses of Termessus and Roman citizens shall be henceforth as they were before the first Mithridatic War. The validity of regulations made by the town for imposing dues on commerce coming by land or sea is recognised, but the 'publicani' are to be exempt. The territory of Termessus must have reached to the coast, though the town was some distance away. Doubtless the 'lex Antonia' was only one of a number of statutes defining the rights of the cities in this region which had been disturbed by Mithridates. There was an expansion of urban life in Pisidia under the Romans, but not much is known of it. At the Pisidian Antioch Augustus planted a colony of veterans who had passed through the famous Fifth Gallic Legion, Caesar's 'Alaudae.' It had the boon of Italic privilege and a new title 'Caesarea,' which is official on its coins. There are remains on the site of a fine aqueduct and a basilica in which we may imagine that

St Paul held converse. There were several other Augustan colonies in Pisidia. Among them was Comâma, whose proud titulature 'Colonia Iulia Augusta Prima Fida Comama' is rendered into Greek in some inscriptions, in spite of the Roman character of the foundation. Another colony of Augustus, Cremna, was a strong fortress in the mountainous region of Pisidia, which like western Cilicia was greatly infested by brigands. Notwithstanding that Cremna had the Roman 'duoviri' and 'decuriones,' it sometimes used the Greek alphabet on its coins. Another colony was at Olbasa in northern Pisidia. Some of the Greek towns connected themselves with the imperial names; thus the Pisidian Seleucia became 'Claudioseleucia.'

Lycaonia never attained to any high degree of urban organisation, nor was the land ever greatly affected by Hellenic culture. The barren high plateau of which the country consisted was not favourable to the growth of civic communities. There are hardly any coins before the Roman age. Two Augustan colonies, Parlais and Lystra, are known. Three cities, Derbe, Iconium and Laodicea (called *κεκαυμένη*), must have received benefits from Claudius, because they all link his name with their titles. Iconium, the greatest town of the district, became a colony in the reign of Hadrian, Laodicea not till that of Maximinus. Iconium has been a noted place almost to our day. After the end of Byzantine rule it was the capital of a Moslem state.

Pamphylia was a narrow tract of country lying along the coast. It had passed under the control at one time of the Ptolemies, at another of the Seleucids, and again of the Pergamene monarchs. The name of the seaport Attalia (now Adalia) commemorates a king of Pergamum. There were old Greek settlements by the sea, but the indigenous element had overwhelmed the Hellenic before the Macedonian conquest. Aspendus, an Argive colony, and Sidê, founded from Cyme in Aeolis, issued coins with barbaric inscriptions about Alexander's time; after which Greek culture was to some extent revived. The fortunes of Pamphylia were

chequered after Rome overthrew Antiochus III of Syria. The towns were practically free, though Pergamum had a general suzerainty over the country. Rome attempted no immediate government in any part of it till 103 B.C. when the pirates were first attacked; but the final incorporation of all Pamphylia with Lycia into the empire was only brought about by Claudius, or it may be by Vespasian. Perga became then the chief city. Its population was apparently like that of Aspendus and Sidê, hardly Hellenic either in race or language. But though Pamphylia came comparatively late into touch with Roman civilisation, it readily accepted many material results that flowed from it. Buildings of great interest belonging to the imperial era still remain on a number of Pamphylian sites. Aspendus, which Philostratos at the end of the second century called but the third city of Pamphylia, shows with remnants of other notable erections a Roman theatre which is as fine as any in the world. Existing inscriptions attest the fact that it was bestowed on the town in honour of M. Aurelius and Lucius Verus, by a Roman citizen domiciled in the place, whose heirs carried out his wishes. At Perga again there is a beautiful and almost perfect theatre, and at Sidê are ruins of another, of great size, built up on arches like an ordinary amphitheatre, for want of a convenient hillside. At Attalia there is a triple portal erected in honour of Hadrian. The ruins at Sidê are the most considerable in Asia Minor.

The story of Lycia is remarkable for the great solidarity of its league of cities, hardly to be paralleled in the ancient world. The constitution of the country was thoroughly federal, and it maintained a considerable degree of freedom even against the Persian monarchs. The country constituted practically a peninsula to which access was made difficult by mountains. Lycia has been called "the Asiatic Tyrol." It is a region of bare heights interspersed with fertile valleys. The land is one of ancient and distinctive culture, with a peculiar script applied to a language which has not been fully unriddled. The rock-tombs of Lycia are a

remarkable characteristic. Monuments from Xanthus in the British Museum illustrate the early state of Lycia. It will be remembered that the Lycian league at one time joined the Athenian maritime confederacy. Later, it fell under the overlordship of the Ptolemies and again of the Seleucids, and after the battle of Magnesia Rome rewarded Rhodes by placing the Lycian towns under her supremacy. Then the quarrel with that great maritime community which came about when Perseus of Macedon was attacked, led to the freedom of Lycia once more. The federal structure itself had persisted through all the changes. Strabo gives the names of twenty-three towns as comprised in it and coins of all are extant. The closeness of the union is evidenced by the common types of the pieces, differentiated only by letters indicating the separate cities. Only one city, Phasêlis, held a peculiar position. It never, like the rest, minted money with Lycian inscriptions, but always used Greek. It may have had a kind of free alliance with the league. The federal union was practically dissolved by Claudius. This emperor must have given great attention to a number of Asiatic districts, if we may judge from the cities, not a few, which incorporated his name in their designations. The imperial history of Lycia is but little known. That the towns flourished under the blessing of the Roman peace is clear from the evidence still to be seen on their sites. Almost every city had a capacious theatre, and memorials of the Roman age are numerous and striking. Xanthus possessed a fine triple portal; and there is another, well preserved, at Patara, dating from 145 A.D. At Patara, which was one of the chief homes of Apollo, and at Myra, near the sea, there are interesting theatres. Andriaca, the seaport of Myra, shows extensive ruins, connected with the name of Hadrian. Another town, Oinoanda, has a peculiar title to fame among scholars. A citizen of the place in the third century, an ardent Epicurean, determined to do his best to make converts of his fellow-townsmen. To that end he inscribed in large letters on the walls a treatise on the

doctrines of Epicurus. This has been brought to light in recent days.

Between Syria and Pamphylia stretches Cilicia. The western section, known as "Rugged Cilicia" (Cilicia Tracheia) is a mountainous region, with a number of small havens; a country made for pirates, and exploited for the purposes of piracy during many ages. The eastern part, 'Level Cilicia,' was naturally amenable to the influence of Syria. The Romans first entered Cilicia in 103 B.C. when they made their earliest attack upon the pirate bands. But very little of Cilicia was occupied then or for long after. The Romans who were called governors of Cilicia seem for a considerable period to have had wide and very ill-defined jurisdiction, embracing parts at least of Pamphylia, Greater Phrygia, Pisidia and Lycia. Verres was quaestor to a governor, and was accused by Cicero of having harassed all these lands. P. Servilius Vatia, who ruled from 78 to 74 B.C., extended Roman authority in these regions. Among districts conquered by him was Isauria, properly part of Cilicia, from which he took the title Isauricus. In his second speech against Rullus Cicero mentions six towns whose lands had become 'ager publicus' through the victories of Servilius. Two of these are not easy to identify. The other four were Attalia in Pamphylia, Phasêlis and Olympus in Lycia, and Oroanda in Pisidia. All these places were probably in possession of the pirates at the time. Olympus, which offered strong resistance, is described as an ancient city, rich and well equipped. Pompey reorganised Cilicia in 64 B.C., as a consequence of his victory over the marauders. He attached to it for purposes of administration much territory that was afterwards united with Galatia; viz. Pamphylia, Pisidia, Lycaonia, and the district called Isauria from its chief town Isaura. In 58 B.C. Cyprus was added. The Macedonians had planted in Cilicia proper a number of Hellenic or semi-Hellenic colonies. Coins of about fifty towns are known. The western part of the country was wild and untamed and infested by brigands even in the time of Roman rule. Much

of Cilicia was at first left to the care of client princes, many of whom were no great supporters of public order. Most of their dynasties were extinguished by Claudius and Vespasian, in accordance with their policy all over the empire. The chief city was Tarsus, the city of St Paul. It was free and untaxed from the time of Antony and, one among many Graeco-Asiatic cities, vaunted itself as 'sacred and inviolable.' Tarsus had a long history going back to Assyrian and Persian supremacy, and its vicissitudes continued till the time of the Crusades. It had sources of prosperity both in its fertile territory and its extensive trade, especially with the East. Strabo gives a long and interesting account of Tarsus as a home of Greek culture, and asserts that it was herein superior to Athens and Alexandria. He enumerates philosophers, especially of the Stoic School, also poets and literary men who were natives, and ends by saying that Rome can best bear witness to the literary activity of Tarsus, because it is "full" of men from that town and from Alexandria. But Dio Chrysostomos and Philostratos are not very complimentary to the general culture of the inhabitants. Tarsus was especially favoured by the emperors, having embraced the cause of Caesar from the first. Augustus enriched it considerably. Four or five emperors died in Tarsus, one being Julian, who was buried outside its walls. Five Cilician cities besides Tarsus possessed their freedom. Some others became colonies, among them Mallus, which boasted a famous oracle of Amphiaraus, and Selinus, where Trajan died. A number of places displayed imperial names in their titles, without being Romanised. Thus there were Diocaesarea, Flaviopolis and Germanicopolis. Pompeiopolis was the new designation given by Pompey to old Soli, the birthplace of Chrysippus, 'pillar of the Stoic Porch,' and of the astronomical poet Aratus, whose name shall last, says Ovid, "as long as the sun and moon endure." Both these great men are commemorated by coins of their native city. Mopsuestia linked itself with the name of Hadrian.

Cyprus was annexed in 58 B.C. in pursuance of a law of

Clodius, when Ptolemy, its last king, was deposed. Cato of Utica, much to his discredit, accepted from Clodius the commission to carry out the change, and endured a form of exile less honourable than Cicero's. The fifteen towns of the island, of which nine had been the seats of princes in the Persian era, remained Greek in their constitution, though in 15 B.C. the capital took the title of Sebastê, and later called itself (in Greek) "the Augustan Claudian Flavian Paphos, mother city of the cities in Cyprus."

The province known sometimes as Pontus, sometimes as Bithynia, embraced the old realm of the Bithynian kings and part of the Pontic kingdom of Mithridates, properly called Pontus. Bithynia had fallen to the Roman Republic in 74 B.C. by the testament (so it was said) of the last ruler. War and disaster had attended his last years, and he may have felt that he was alienating a possession likely to be of value to Rome alone. He was a contemptible creature, who loved to parade as the 'freedman' of Rome, wearing the 'pilleus' which was assumed by newly manumitted slaves. In leaving his possessions to the Roman people, he was carrying out the rôle of a grateful freedman. The turmoil of the Mithridatic campaigns prevented the organisation of the new province till 64 B.C. when Pompey took it in hand. His 'lex provinciae' was a great charter, to which appeal was made for centuries. Its principle was the same which Pompey applied elsewhere in Asia, that of using to the utmost the city commonwealth for purposes of administration. Many noble towns of ancient fame were already in the land; and Pompey founded others. When he returned to Rome to enjoy his triumph one of his chief boasts was his activity as a creator of new cities. The names of thirty-nine which he had established in the East were carried in his triumphal procession. It may be noted that Fimbria, Sulla's opponent, was the first Roman to found a town in Asia; this was in Pontus, and called by him Licinia, after his own name. Strabo has preserved information as to Pompey's scheme for Bithynia and Pontus, and his account is more

detailed than usual, because he was a native of the province, having been born at Amaseia. We learn also much about it from Pliny the younger, who governed it, and corresponded with Trajan touching its affairs, and from the famous rhetorician Dio Chrysostomos, sometimes called Dio Prusaeus from the name of Prusa, the Bithynian town where he was born in the first century. We are thus better informed about this possession of Rome than about any other in the East, excepting Syria and the province of Asia.

Parts of the Pontic kingdom bordering on Armenia and also districts in Colchis were made over to ruling dynasties. The country fringing the Euxine between Herakleia and the mouth of the Halys was mapped out into eleven urban 'territoria.' The coast line of Bithynia proper extended westward along the Euxine, and followed the shore of the Bosphorus and the Propontis as far as the outlet of the Rhyndacus. This domain was also split up into civic territories, whose number was increased later. In Pliny's time there were twelve. The important city of Byzantium, though on the European side of the strait, was attached to the province. In the whole range of land thus organised by Pompey, the urban development had not previously been carried very far excepting on the coast. Early Greek settlements had been mainly maritime, and many had disappeared or become depressed owing to the turbulence of the times. The country was full of little fortified places when Xenophon's soldiers passed through it and so it was when Mithridates was in power. When Murena was in Pontus during the Second Mithridatic War, he is said to have raided four hundred villages belonging to Mithridates. And one district bore the title of "The Thousand Village land" (Chiliokômon). The princes had been as ambitious as others to Hellenise their domains, but had thwarted themselves by troubles of their own creation, those of incessant conflicts with their neighbours. Pompey was in fact compelled to create some cities and to aggrandise others, for purposes of administration, and to carry on the work in the interior which

the dynasts had begun. The impulse given by Pompey was not allowed to die away and, as Mommsen says, "in Bithynia Hellenism took a mighty upward impulse in the imperial time." This is demonstrated by literary, as well as by political annals. It may be noted that many of the towns in the province had enormous possessions. In some cases they were at least as great as the minor European kingdoms of to-day, Holland, Belgium and Portugal.

In Bithynia proper the town of most ancient renown was Chalcêdon, on the Bosphorus, opposite to Byzantium, in the earlier imperial time a 'free and federated' city, immune from taxation. It was prominent in the classical period, all through the history of the empire, and in that of the Christian Church. But in the Roman age the most important places were of more recent creation. The first Nikomêdês, king of Bithynia, brought into existence a city called after his name, Nikomedia. It stood at the head of a deep gulf, now the gulf of Ismid, but in ancient times the gulf of Astakos, named from a city with a Greek population, drawn from Megara and Athens, which died away early. Nikomedia endured and became in the later centuries of the empire a favoured residence of Roman emperors, partly because of its protected situation. The imperial favour endowed it with noble buildings, of which some exalted descriptions have survived in literature. Despite repeated disasters brought about by earthquakes and wars, it retained its value to the Byzantine emperors till they lost it to the Moslem. In Diocletian's reign it became a colony. Another celebrated foundation was Nikaia (Nicaea), situated at the eastern end of the great lake Askanios. It was the jealous rival of Nikomedia, and though it suffered in the same way, it remained a splendid city till the end of the empire came. One peculiarity of Nikaia has been recorded. Like modern Paris, it had been "Haussmanised," for it is said that the buildings were on a uniform plan and presented an imposing spectacle. Prusa, on the northern slope of Mount Olympus, owed its existence, it is said (like Artaxata in Armenia), to a suggestion of

Hannibal, then in the service of the king Prusias. It has retained its ancient name nearly unchanged, and is now Broussa. Caesar created three colonies in the province on the sea, none of them military. One was at Herakleia Pontica, an old Greek city near the boundary of Bithynia. It was founded by Megarians and Boeotians, and had been a powerful republic, capable of maintaining land and sea forces which assured to it widespread influence over the shores of the Euxine. When it cast in its fortunes with Mithridates, its doom was sealed. The great resistance it was able to make against the Romans showed its original strength. A siege of two years was needed for its conquest. Caesar's second colony was at Sinôpê, to the east of Herakleia. This was probably the oldest Greek settlement on the Euxine shores; its date of foundation is given as 630 B.C. It threw off a number of colonies in its turn, among them Cerasus and Trapezus. Its territory was very large, and it carried on successfully the battle of Hellenism against the barbarous Paphlagonians of the interior. It could maintain a powerful fleet, and its prestige was great over a large space of northern Asia. Its position made it a place of vast strength, and it has been important as a fortress all through the ages. But its conflict with the Romans, induced by the Mithridatic wars, sapped its prosperity. The third colony of Caesar was to the west at Apamea on the Propontis. Though the new foundations were civil, not military, Caesar constructed them after the fashion of the military colonies planted by Sulla in Italy. That is to say, the colonists were assigned quarters in the towns, but had a municipal organisation of their own, and a share in the civic territory. In the case of Herakleia, the portion of it which belonged to the original inhabitants was made over by Antony to Adiatorix, a prince whom we have had occasion to mention already. He massacred the Roman settlers, and this led to his execution by Octavian. Apparently the murdered colonists were not replaced.

The only other free city besides Chalcêdon was Amîsus, a seaport in the Pontic part of the province some little way

eastward of the Halys. It was founded by Phocaeans, about 562 B.C., and had been reinforced by Athenian settlers in the fourth century B.C. These had changed its name to Peiraieus. The new title appears on coins, with the characteristic Athenian owl. In spite of much suffering during the Mithridatic wars, it was a rich place in the times of Cicero and of Strabo. Its estate was extensive and fruitful. Another place on the coast is Abonuteichos, which is notable as the home of one of the most marvellous of the Asiatic false prophets, Alexander, a great character in Lucian. He was one of the few who ever successfully founded a new pagan cult; in his case that of Asklepios at his native city. Amastris was on the sea east of Herakleia and is best remembered by the line of Catullus "Amastri Pontica et Cytore buxifer," where the reference is to a wooded mountain near by, famous for its box trees. The younger Pliny thought Amastris "an elegant and well decorated town." He could see more good in Bithynia than the poet, who hated its "cold and hunger," not relieved by the filling of his purse, and yearned while in the province for "the noble cities of Asia."

In the interior of Pontus one of the most interesting cities was Amaseia, in the valley of the Iris. Strabo was born there and gives a minute description of its situation. Both nature and art had combined to make it one of the strongest places of the land. It was the early capital of the dynasty. At the confluence of the Iris and the Lycus Mithridates had planted Eupatoria, named after his own distinctive title, Eupator. The three places, Amaseia, Eupatoria, and Amîsus on the coast constituted a strong defensive triangle, which Lucullus had much trouble to penetrate. Eupatoria opened its gates to the Roman general, and at a later time was destroyed by Mithridates himself, for the sake of revenge. Pompey rebuilt the town, renaming it Magnopolis and endowing it, as Strabo says, with lands and settlers. It may be observed that his predecessor, Lucullus, was distinguished for his efforts to spare the cities from destruction. Repeatedly when he had been unable to restrain the licence of his soldiers,

he did much to restore the shattered communities, helping to build them up again and compensating them by increasing their domains. Several other places in this region were connected with the name of Pompey. Near the border of Lesser Armenia, at a spot where he had won a victory over Mithridates, he built Nikopolis as a memorial. Another foundation was Pompeiopolis, to the west of the Halys, and not far inland. Scattered over the province are designations which indicate contact with the earlier emperors, as Claudiopolis, Flaviopolis, Iuliopolis, Hadrianopolis. Reference has been already made to the great sacred centres, Komâna, Kabeira and Zêla. Archelaos, son of the Pontic general of the same name who, beaten at Chaeronea by Sulla, later attached himself to the conqueror, was installed in the priesthood at Komâna, and allowed to rule over a considerable estate. But the municipalities established at these places were probably endowed at the expense of the old sacerdotal domains.

Our survey of the Hellenised lands needs for its completion a view of the great Roman province of Asia. To it was allotted only a portion of the extensive dominions which belonged to Pergamum on the death of the last prince. These comprised a miscellaneous agglomeration of countries without any unity, either ethnical or geographic. The boundaries of provincial Asia were many times changed during the first centuries of the occupation. Cicero, in his speech in defence of Flaccus, speaks of Asia as covering the districts of Mysia, Phrygia, Caria and Lydia, but the description is of the loosest. Not all these regions were included, and districts not connected with them were embraced. The Greek islands, for example, were in large part connected with Asia. The western mainland was studded with cities on the coast and along the river valleys. The maritime towns were as a rule the older; the story of some reached far beyond history into the realm of legend. The inland communities were to a large extent the creation of the Hellenistic age. This is indicated by the number of titles

drawn from princely names, as Apamea, Laodicea, Stratonicea, Antiochia, Attalia, Eumenia, Philadelphia, Apollonis. Into the nomenclature of the cities here few Roman names ever intruded. In Ptolemy's record of the second century there are but three, Iuliopolis, Tiberiopolis, Traianopolis. Others existed even then; as Hadrianouthêrai, founded by Hadrian at a spot near the Hellespont where he had enjoyed a successful bear-hunt, but none were of much consequence.

In the whole extensive province of Asia only two Roman colonies were ever established. Both were Augustan, and both were civil, not military. One was at Alexandria in the Troad, nearly opposite the island of Tenedos. The place had an interesting history. It was an ancient town of little importance, when Antigonus, Alexander's general, refounded it and called it Antigonia. Then Lysimachus, another general of Alexander, extended the foundation and renamed it Alexandria in memory of his chief. Along with the Roman colonisation went the gift of Italian rights. The rumour ran at Rome just before Caesar's murder that he would make either Alexandria or Ilium the capital of the empire; and it is curious that the design of making Alexandria a new Rome is said to have been entertained by Constantine before he recast Byzantium. In the imperial age cities were fond of reviving ancient memories, and on some coins the title Alexandria is linked with that of Antigonia. Many ruins are on the site, including much of the old walls. The other colony of Augustus was at Parium on the Hellespont, not far from Lampsacus. During the whole existence of the empire no other places even received the titular designation of 'colonia.' Augustus sent colonists to Tralles (Aidin), a city of Caria, situated on a tributary of the Maeander, but its status was not changed. It merely added the name Caesarea to that of Tralles. The two colonies received further benefits from Hadrian and Caracalla, whom they commemorated in their titulature.

In its municipal history the province of Asia presents an

extraordinary contrast with other regions of the empire, even with the remainder of Roman Asia. Among all the Greek cities of western Asia there was a proud consciousness of a kind of natural unity, a unity of spirit, which disregarded external political conditions. With the decay of the towns on the old Greek mainland and the absorption of Greek cities farther west into the Roman polity, it was deeply felt that here lay the real and surviving Hellas. The Graeco-Asiatic cities in the west of the continent had no inclination to break away from their Hellenic history, and to ask for municipal reconstruction or municipal designations which implied a surrender to the spirit of the West. Mitteis has shown in the field of law how this common Hellenic consciousness acted. The Roman emperors respected it, and abandoned all thought of bridging over the gulf between West and East. With all the openly expressed contempt of the imperial Roman for the flighty Greek of his time, there was in his mind an undercurrent of admiration, reminding us of the feeling entertained by other nations for France during the eighteenth century. The number of Romans who domiciled themselves in Asia from love of the "Graecorum libertas" as Cicero calls it, grew continually.

It results from what has been stated that there is very little which our subject compels us to say of the Roman province of Asia. The number of cities proper, that is to say of places invested with self-governing rights and endowed at least with a Senate (Boulê or Curia), was very large indeed. Fancy numbers are given by the writers; five hundred by Josephus and Philostratos, a thousand by others. Surviving evidence points to a total somewhere near four hundred. Few districts of the province were wild, like large parts of other Asiatic provinces. There was a region between Mount Ida and Mount Olympus where brigandage chronically flourished. The rarity of princedoms is also a characteristic of the Asian province. The relations of the cities with Rome were not defined in any one document, as was the case in Bithynia and Sicily, but by innumerable independent

compacts. Some relied on arrangements drawn up when the towns which had not supported Antiochus were 'liberated,' after the battle of Magnesia. The various commotions in the land from the first constitution of the province to the battle of Actium produced of course horrible devastation and many changes in the fortunes of the municipalities. A century after the Romans had figured as liberators and saviours of Hellenic communities, a revolution in feeling had been brought about by the taxgatherer's oppression, and the sympathies of the Greeks, even of the Athenians, were with Mithridates when he first fell under the wrath of Rome. But in spite of all the Roman tyranny of which we read in ancient authors, it may well be doubted whether the towns had ever enjoyed more prosperity than when they were ruled by the Roman Senate of the Republic. They retained an extraordinary reverence for the Senate, which is expressed on coinage hundreds of times, in the period when little or nothing was to be gained by its expression, though the province was still nominally under Senatorial rule. 'Sacred Senate' is a common inscription. On coins of Cyme in Aeolis the Senate even appears as a god (*θεόν*). 'The sacred Dêmos,' in allusion to the Roman people, is less frequent. From 31 B.C. to 195 A.D. when the conflict broke out between Septimius Severus and Pescennius Niger, the peace of Roman Asia was not seriously broken, though it was exposed to occasional Parthian raids, which affected mainly the open country and recoiled from the city fortifications. Long after the Empire began to collapse the peace of the East was far less affected than that of the West. Never has western Asia flourished so greatly as during the three centuries after Augustus came to the throne. Multitudes of inscriptions testify to the wealth of the civic commonwealths. Many burgesses accumulated much property, which they used for the benefit of their native places. Splendid theatres, aqueducts and public buildings of all kinds were bestowed on the communities. Commerce and manufactures fructified the country. Many cities controlled vast stretches of land, from which they derived considerable revenue. The

numerous eulogies of Rome pronounced by rhetoricians were not all insincere. They show that Roman rule with all its faults was not felt to be intolerably galling or ruinous. In the second century after Christ the neuropathic 'Rhetor,' P. Aelius Aristides, spoke of Rome much in the vein of Polybius, three centuries earlier. He insisted on the liberty which the government permitted, and contrasted its spirit with that of classical Athens and Sparta, which sought to make slaves of their subjects. The address of Dio Chrysostomos to the city of Apamea, while criticising Greek faults not a little, emphasises equally the advantages which Rome had conferred upon the cities. Pergamum was in Pliny's eyes "by far the most brilliant city of Asia." In the following century Galen attributed to it 40,000 burgesses and 120,000 domiciled strangers. Although its glorious site with its great towering citadel might seem to have marked it out to be one of the greatest cities of the land, its real importance began with the Attalids, and it continued under the Romans to be a great centre of government. In many places relics of splendid buildings still speak to us of the grandeur of cities whose names rarely appear in history or literature. Such was Apamea, on the extreme upper waters of the Maeander, said to have once had 320,000 inhabitants. It lay on a great trade-route between east and west.

The Mithridatic wars upset to a large extent the conditions originally established by the Romans in Asia, and new regulations were framed by Sulla, Lucullus, and Pompeius. The terribly heavy taxation imposed by Sulla laid a ruinous burden on the province, but it was mitigated by Lucullus; and Cicero intimates that the prosperity of Asia depended on the observance of the ordinances laid down by him. For purposes of revenue Sulla divided the province into forty-four districts called 'regiones,' which are traceable for centuries after. The cities and their territories were grouped to form these divisions. For the administration of law there was a different classification. So far as is known, there were about a dozen districts, bearing the Greek name 'dioikêsis,' and in

Latin called, as in other provinces, 'conventus iuridici.' In some of these there was one chief town in which the governor held his annual court; in others he sat at a number of leading towns in turn. Such places were Ephesus, the governmental capital of the whole province, Cyzicus, Pergamum, Smyrna, Apamea. The concentration of business at these centres when the governor paid his visit led to a social and commercial activity which is vividly pictured by Dio Chrysostomos in his address to the citizens of Apamea. The distinction conferred upon the places where the 'conventus' met caused envy and jealousy among those not so honoured.

In the long history of Asia Minor the cities had largely grouped themselves together in many regions for purposes of common protection and for religious and social functions. These unions had different constitutions and varying degrees of cohesion. The tale of these federal alliances before the Roman era, full of interest as it is, does not concern us here. But we must consider how they stood on the advent of the Romans, who used them for their own purposes as they used other institutions in the conquered countries. In the West, the provincial assemblies to which the name 'concilium' was given, had to be built up *ab initio*. In Greece proper and the semi-Greek districts to the north of it, and in Asia Minor, older federative arrangements were adapted to the same purpose as that which was served by the 'concilium' in the West. Although there is a general resemblance between European Greece and Asia Minor in regard to the Roman treatment of provincial and ethnic assemblies and priesthoods, yet there are in the East some conspicuous peculiarities which render a separate treatment desirable. While the Macedonian monarchy in Europe had been naturally hostile to the principle of federation, as the Romans had been so long as federation was a potent political idea, yet Alexander appeared in Asia as a liberator of the Greeks and restored federal alliances which the Persians had destroyed. The ordinary term for these unions was Koinon. An old alliance of thirteen Ionic cities in Asia which paid worship to

Poseidon at a sacred spot near cape Mykale was revived by Alexander and out of gratitude united the worship of him with that of Poseidon. Its existence is traceable down into the third century A.D. The Lycian confederacy also came to vigorous life again. It was as we have seen the most closely knit of all ancient federations. In the late Republican age it maintained a fleet, which was used against Mithridates; and a military force of the league assailed Brutus in 42 B.C. with some effect. There was also a Koinon in Caria, which reverenced the Zeus who bore the title 'Chrysaoreus'; and there was another in the Troad; also a league of Dorian cities with a meeting-place at Cnidus. Within these larger Koina, and forming part of them, there were smaller leagues which used the same name Koinon. Sometimes villages (*κῶμαι*) as well as cities were recognised in their constitutions.

All these ancient associations were allowed by the Romans to subsist, but the new imperial cult was grafted on to them. On their own initiative, several towns established shrines in honour of the deified Julius Caesar. But in 29 B.C. an official policy was adopted. Permission was given to erect at Pergamum the earliest temple in honour of Roma and Augustus; it was completed ten years later. But the whole province of Asia participated with Pergamum. A coin of the time of Augustus depicts the building, and exhibits the legend "Com. Asiae," that is to say *Κοινὸν Ἀσίας*. About the same time a similar authorisation was granted for a temple at Nikomedia in Bithynia. Tiberius early in his reign allowed the province of Asia to establish a shrine in his own honour, and eleven cities fought out the question of its locality. Finally the contest lay between Sardes, the old Lydian capital, and Smyrna. The Sardians urged in their favour, among other points, the presumed consanguinity between Lydians and Etruscans; while the Smyrniotes put forward as one claim the fact that so far back as 195 B.C. they had reared a shrine of the goddess Roma. This divinity was indeed a Greek invention, utilised by Augustus for his

provincial policy, but not otherwise officially recognised as belonging to the Roman Pantheon until a late date. In devising Roma as a divine being, the Greeks were no doubt impressed by what they deemed the connexion between Roma and their own word Rômê, that is strength. Soon many cities in the East had their 'Sebasteion' or 'Augusteum.' The new worship tended to be ethnic and provincial. The Koinon of all Asia was of course quite a novel organisation; it was just beginning to come into notice when Augustus became monarch. The general assembly of this province was held at different cities in turn. The dignity of high-priest of the imperial cult became, as in the West, an object of great ambition. Connected with it was a high magistracy, that of Asiarch, which was held after the tenure of the chief priesthood. None of the meetings of the old Koina within the province were extinguished. In provinces which had no ethnic cohesion, Galatia for example, the Koinon, on the same lines as in Asia, was a new creation. But it was not necessary that there should be only one of these assemblies in each province. In Bithynia-Pontus the historic division between the two parts was recognised, and Nikomedia was the centre for the western section, Neocaesarea for the eastern. So when Claudius constituted Lycia with Pamphylia as a separate province, the old Lycian confederation remained apart and a new Koinon was established for Pamphylia. So in Syria there were two, one centring at Antioch, the other at Tyre. Connected with the worship of the Augusti in all these regions were officers bearing names like that of the 'Asiarch'; so 'Bithyniarch,' 'Lykiarch.'

The Asiatic Greek cities contended about merely titular honours with a fury which was ridiculed not only by Romans, but by their own literary men, Lucian, Dio Chrysostomos and others. All vainglorious patriotism, whether national or local, has its absurd aspect, but the pride which impelled the cities to these contests was not wholly bad. The effect of Roman rule was not nearly so levelling in the East as in the West, where something like uniformity of local institutions was

early brought about, and antecedent local history was in great measure effaced. But in the East the individuality of the communities was not blurred over in the same degree, and municipal pride was naturally far more intense. There are many tales of struggles to acquire the title of 'Metropolis.' In the assignation of the honour, no logical rule appears to have been followed. Within the same province a number of towns might be recognised as entitled to be called 'Mother City.' The Romans often had to give decisions on such claims; but in the imperial period the government sometimes left them to settle themselves. There was usually some old historic reason for allowing the distinction. Thus in Asia we find Smyrna denoted as 'Metropolis' of the Ionians; Cyzicus of the Hellespont; Sardes of Lydia; Tralles of Caria; Laodicea of Phrygia. But Ephesus bore the title merely as the leading city, the seat of government, and the guardian of the most famous shrine, that of the many-breasted Artemis. She was, in her own words, "the first and greatest Mother City of Asia." Why the designation should have been given to some cities, Miletus, Lampsacus, Synnada, is not easy to divine. The list of these places does not coincide with that of the centres in which the 'conventus iuridici' were held nor with that of the seats of the imperial cult. Outside the Asian province the distribution proceeds on no regular principle. Damascus and Petra were recognised as 'Mother Cities'; and Carrhae became the 'Metropolis' of Mesopotamia. Three cities of Pontus displayed the label on their coins, while Pompeiopolis vaunted itself as the 'Metropolis' of Paphlagonia, though it actually lay within the same province with the other three. Nikomedia obtained the right to describe herself as "Metropolis and First City of Bithynia and Pontus." Apart from 'Metropolis,' the title of 'First City' was curiously scattered about. It belonged not only to great places like Smyrna, but was borne by Samos as 'First City' of the Ionians. Tralles even called herself "First City of Hellas." The self-praise of Smyrna was magnificent. "First City of Asia by beauty

and importance, most brilliant and glory of Ionia." Questions of precedence were most acute in Asia. Magnesia on the Maeander actually boasted of being the *seventh* city in Asia. It would seem that the civic commonwealths had somehow been arranged in order of merit by the government. Another honour, not confined to Asia, but belonging to the graecised communities generally, is most characteristic of Asia, the so-called 'Neocorate,' the right to name a priest whose title was 'Neokoros.' The nature of the office, beyond the fact that it was connected with the imperial cult, is obscure. There was yet another privilege by which the Graeco-Asiatic commonwealths set great store; the right of sanctuary (*asylum*). In many cases the right was of great antiquity; in others it was of comparatively recent origin, having been granted by the Hellenistic princes or by Mithridates or by Romans, as by Scipio, Caesar or Mark Antony. The sacred shrines had afforded little protection to the Romans and Italians when the vast massacre ordered by Mithridates was carried out. At many, horrible scenes were enacted, with the express concurrence of the authorities of the cities. It would have been natural for the Romans to sweep away the abused and desecrated privilege altogether. But the institution of the asylum, which belonged almost entirely to the eastern side of the empire, was intensely prized, and the Romans merely regulated it from time to time. In the reign of Tiberius the evils which flowed from the right of sanctuary occasioned a great discussion in the senate at Rome, which is reported by Tacitus. He mentions three classes of undesirable persons who found their advantage in the privilege: malefactors, debtors and fugitive slaves. We must suppose that the scrutiny of title-deeds which then took place led to a diminution in the number of the sanctuaries. The like abuse sprang up at the temples dedicated to the emperors; first that of Caesar at Rome, then those consecrated to the Augusti in many parts of the empire.

When we turn from unsubstantial honours to the realities of political life, we find in Asia the usual classification of

cities as allied (*foederatae*), free (*liberae*) and tributary (*stipendiariae*). But the terms 'alliance' and 'freedom' were even more laxly used on the eastern side of the Roman dominions than on the western; and towns which boasted these marks of autonomy were often subject to some kind of taxation. During a long course of turmoils the relations originally established between Rome and the cities had undergone many changes, generally for the worse, and ancient titles to which the civic commonwealths clung had sometimes lost much of their meaning. There must have been a number of towns to which Cicero's description of Lampsacus would apply: "in form allies, in fortune slaves" (*condicione socii, fortuna servi*). Many vicissitudes in the status of Asian cities are known. Even within the limits of a senatorial province the emperor's will was all important. The fine old Greek commonwealth of Cyzicus, whose situation made it one of the strongest places in the ancient world, at first enjoyed a very favourable alliance with Rome, and exhibited staunch loyalty in trying circumstances in the age of Mithridates. For this Lucullus rewarded the citizens by extending their territory. Then, as Dio Cassius tells, in 20 B.C. Augustus 'enslaved' Cyzicus because the authorities of the place had scourged and killed some Roman burgesses during a civil broil. Five years later its old rights were restored on the intercession of Agrippa; but in 25 A.D. they were again lost, in part because the magistrates, untaught by their recent misfortune, had cast Roman citizens into prison, and in part because a temple which the city had undertaken to erect in honour of Augustus had never been completed. Mitylênê again was in a specially good position until it made common cause with Mithridates and held out during a long siege. Then it was humiliated, but owing to the fortunate accident that Theophanes the historian and intimate of Pompey was a native of the place, it recovered its privileges, which were reaffirmed by Augustus. It is conjectured that Vespasian depressed its status once more. At any rate the city must have benefited politically as well as materially by a visit from Hadrian in 121 A.D.; for

inscriptions describe him as the benefactor and 'founder' of Mitylênê.

The story of Rhodes is peculiarly interesting. Polybius praises the cleverness of the Rhodians who for a long period kept a good understanding with Rome, yet entered into no formal compact. After a serious difference with the senate, during the war with Perseus, Rhodes was glad in 164 B.C. to obtain a regular treaty, which was several times renewed, the last confirmation occurring at the time of Caesar's domination. In the reign of Claudius, when a commotion took place at Rhodes, some Roman citizens were crucified and the treaty was cancelled. An inscription informs us that it was restored ten years later, and we know from literary sources that Nero while still but a boy pleaded for the Rhodians before Claudius, with foreordained success. Vespasian abrogated the compact once more, but it seems that yet again Rhodes recovered its status, for Dio Chrysostomos speaks of it as 'autonomous.' The splendid resistance that Rhodes made to Mithridates well merited Roman favour. This fine commonwealth was the last of the Hellenic states to maintain a power comparable with that of the great Greek polities of the classical age. For a long period it possessed a dominion of some extent on the continent, the 'Rhodian Peraea,' and for a while the Romans allowed it to control the whole league of Lycian cities. Its commerce dwindled under the empire, but it was long a chief home of Greek culture, and its schools of philosophy and rhetoric drew to it many students.

The cities which possessed definite treaties with the governing power were of course very careful to keep them in memory. The island of Astypalaea had concluded a favourable agreement (*aequum foedus*) at an early date and it was renewed in 105 B.C., as we are informed by an inscription. It was publicly read in Astypalaea every year, and its terms seem to have remained unaltered down into the third century. Sometimes inscribed records reveal the formation of alliances between Rome and cities in the province of Asia, accompanied by an interchange of oaths, at comparatively late dates. This

was the case with Aphrodisias, a city on the borders of Lydia and Caria, which became 'friend and ally' of Rome by favour of Caesar, continued by Mark Antony. Its shrine of Aphrodite possessed the right of asylum, recognised by Caesar and Augustus. It is a specimen of a town whose prosperity rose markedly under Roman rule, as is indicated even now by important remains on its site. Another city belonging to the same category was Cnidus, which entered into a compact with Augustus after the victory of Actium. Alabanda in Caria, noted by Strabo for wealth and luxury, concluded an alliance with the Romans which seems to have survived the disasters of the half-century that heralded the ascendency of Augustus. The city was one of the earliest to erect a temple of the goddess Roma, in 170 B.C. It was 'metropolis' of Caria and seat of a 'conventus iuridicus.' A decree of the senate, passed in 81 B.C., has survived, which conferred a favour on Stratonicea in Caria, once a dependency of Rhodes. It makes an allusion to a treaty between the town and Rome. We have like information of Methymna in Lesbos. These agreements were probably not *foedera* concluded with the ancient forms used in old Republican times. They did not in all instances free the towns from tribute. The most important boon was that of 'immunitas,' which was repeatedly conferred by emperors. Cities were glad if they could describe themselves not only as 'free' but as 'immune.' Augustus granted to the island of Cos the right of receiving exiles which had been in early Italy a particular mark of autonomy. But he did not thereby relieve Cos from paying tribute. Claudius, whose physician Xenophon came from the island, famous for its school of medicine, introduced in the senate a decree which freed it from taxation. The relations of Ilium in the Troad with Rome began before the Syrian king Antiochus was defeated at Magnesia in 190 B.C. The Romans petted the place from time to time in deference to the Trojan legend, and a number of emperors showed it favour. Nero, when just emerging from boyhood, delivered a Greek oration in presence of Claudius, claiming for the people of Ilium freedom from every "public

duty" (*munus publicum*). This bears upon other matters than taxation. In the 'Digest' there is mention of the "very complete immunity" which Ilium had received. Another sign of grades in immunity is found in a decree of the senate passed in 42 B.C. to confer benefits on the city of Aphrodisias. This has been in large part preserved, and makes reference not only to "liberty" but to "immunity in all respects" (*ἀτέλειαν πάντων τῶν πραγμάτων*). There are other traces of particular favours vouchsafed to Greek cities in the province of Asia, and if its history were more completely recorded, much more of the same character would appear. That the possession of rights was precarious is clear even from what has been already said. As in the western world, the colonial title might or might not be combined with 'Italian privilege,' which made the territory of a town theoretically a piece of Italy.

Some of the towns of Asia which were most famous were among the less favoured so far as local autonomy was concerned. Ephesus, though it boasted itself to be "the leading city of Asia," and was the administrative capital of the province, was of inferior civic standing. Under the Attalids its constitution had been very democratic. Pergamum seems to have been allowed large freedom when the province of Asia was first organised, but to have lost it, since in 48 B.C. Servilius Isauricus restored its ancient laws and democratic institutions.

There is one respect in which the Greek cities both on the Asiatic continent and in Greece proper benefited by the empire. Earthquake often brought on them appalling misfortune, which was generally relieved by imperial generosity. Tacitus records how in 17 A.D. Tiberius came to the rescue of twelve commonwealths in Asia, partly by grants of money, partly by remission of taxes due to the senatorial or imperial exchequer. An inscription exists in which the emperor is declared to be founder (*conditor*) of the twelve cities. Laodicea in the valley of the Lykos was so wealthy as to be able to decline the proffered assistance. A few years later Cibyra was on like grounds excused for ten years from the payment

of tribute. In the case of towns lying within a senatorial province, the earlier emperors would go through the form of consulting the senate in such cases; later this would not be expected.

We may close our view of the Roman system in Asia by looking to see what was its general effect on the civic populations which were submitted to it, while it lasted. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that when the system went to pieces, the traces of Roman influence on the civilisation speedily vanished, excepting so far as it was indicated by its material products, such as theatres and aqueducts, which slowly crumbled. In this respect Asia is even as Africa, where Romanisation did take place to a remarkable degree. The Greek colour did not fade so quickly in Asia as the Roman, and it tinged the Christian Church in permanence. But in Asia there was a continual fresh emergence of the national characteristics which Hellenic municipalism had partially obscured. One main immediate result of the Roman ascendency here, as everywhere, was that pressure rather indirect than direct, and never systematic, was applied to introduce aristocratic forms of local government and to weaken the popular elements in the cities. What the ancient Greeks called oligarchy, that is to say, the rule of the wealthy, became ordinary in the communities. Josephus attributes a general change in this direction, among the Syrian cities, to Gabinius, the first Roman governor. We shall see later that the uses to which the municipalities were put by the government necessitated the establishment of plutocracy. The weak hold of the Latin tongue upon the East is made clear by numerous facts. Even towns which were nominally Roman or Romanised did not hesitate to issue their public announcements in Greek form. At Sinôpê, which Caesar colonised, an inscription in honour of Agrippina the elder was couched in Greek. So with addresses to Roman officials which have come down to our time. Strange blunders in the Latin legends on coins of towns which had the right to call themselves colonies occurred from the early imperial age. They grew to be worse

when oriental cities like Damascus, Hemesa and Palmyra were made 'Roman' and received Italic privileges. We have already come across inscriptions on the currency of Roman colonies in which the Greek alphabet was used, and in such places private memorials were rarely in Latin. Antioch in Pisidia and Lystra in Lycaonia were both colonies. They entered into a friendly concord (*homonoia*); a kind of Platonic compact much favoured by the eastern Hellenised cities. Lystra set up a statue symbolic of the friendship, and an inscription in Greek recently found runs thus: "The very splendid colony of the Lystrians has honoured the very splendid colony of the Antiocheans with this statue of Concord." There would of course be in all important centres a number of residents whose natural language was Latin. The 'conventus civium Romanorum' is very much in evidence in the Asiatic cities. But the descendants of Roman settlers would in many cases cease to use Latin; and an ever increasing proportion of the members of the 'conventus' would be enfranchised Greeks. The number of these, especially in the wealthier class, was very considerable long before the reign of Caracalla. Even earlier than the imperial period, there were many Roman names among the youths under training, called 'ephebi.' In the first century Asiatics began to make their way into the Roman senate. In Trajan's reign a native of Pergamum who had become proconsul of Asia was honoured in the city of his birth. The Greek tongue, it may be noticed, never had any great vogue outside the cities in many parts of Roman Asia. Even educated people did not necessarily learn it. The Syrian merchants who overspread the empire carried with them the Syrian language, and it was spoken in Gaul in the sixth century. The advance of Greek influence, great as it was under the Roman régime, was never sufficiently powerful anywhere to drive out the national modes of speech. The abandonment of Semitic alphabets for inscriptions on coins, and the employment of Greek in place of special native languages, such as the Lycian, were oftentimes official rather than spontaneous. They might indicate no greater linguistic

change among the general mass of the country people than that produced among the English by the introduction of Norman French. The cities of Lycaonia used Greek and more rarely Latin, on their coins. Paul and Barnabas spoke no doubt in Greek. But the populace who identified them with gods cried out in the Lycaonian tongue, of which no memorial remains. The remonstrance of the apostles was addressed to the crowd, but it is not likely that they were generally understood. The statement in the 'Acts' that at Antioch in Pisidia "almost the whole city" assembled to hear the word as spoken by Barnabas and Paul, can hardly be taken as precise.

# CHAPTER XII

## EUROPEAN GREECE

WE have already viewed those once partly Hellenised lands of the West where the Roman spirit and the Roman institutions finally prevailed, southern Italy, Sicily, southern Gaul and parts of Africa. We must now look to the region of which we think first and foremost as Greece, because of its classical history, and to the countries north of it which yielded to Hellenic influence, and may be included under the head of Greece, if that term be accepted in a wide signification, like the phrase 'Hellenised lands' used in the preceding part of our survey.

The first political contact between Romans and Greeks came about when Rome undertook the police of the Adriatic and suppressed the Illyrian pirates. A few Roman garrisons were then planted on the eastern side of the sea. Two Macedonian wars brought Rome into closer relation with European Greece and the Greek East as well. All through the Greek world ran a thrill of astonishment and admiration when the Romans, by the voice of the herald at the Isthmian games of 194 B.C., restored freedom to communities which had been subject to Macedon, and later withdrew every Roman soldier, even from the 'three fetters' of Greece. The liberty thus granted was not universal, because the rights acquired by allies like the Aetolians could not be abolished. And national leagues of cities were recognised. No attempt was made to dissolve them into their component elements. Not only the great confederations, the Achaean and Aetolian, were

allowed to subsist, but a number of others less known to fame, which in some cases had undergone eclipse by the Macedonian power. When the Romans entered Greece, the federal principle had greater extension than in more ancient days. Subsequent events of course did much to impair the settlement of Flamininus, but to a large extent it formed permanently the basis of Greek rights as recognised by Rome.

Even after the battle of Pydna in 168 B.C. the Roman government strove to avoid direct responsibility for the conquered dominions of Macedon. Tribute was imposed on the inhabitants, lighter than they had been wont to pay, and they were allowed to collect it themselves. The country was to be rendered powerless for harm by being broken up into four sections, which were deprived of 'commercium' and 'conubium' with each other, so that the ethnic unity of the Macedonians was shattered. Security was taken by purging Greece generally of leading men disaffected to Rome, who were carried into exile. But the system was of brief duration. The rebellion of Andriscus in Macedonia and the destruction of the Achaean league, with its capital of Corinth, led to the definite establishment of Roman authority. A province of Macedonia was created which covered in practice the whole Balkan peninsula, though in theory 'free' cities were not comprised within it. In the time of the early empire Epirus and southern Greece were detached. The narrowed Macedonian province then touched Dalmatia on the north-west, the dividing point at the coast being Scodra, as has been previously shown. Further east it bordered on Moesia, and in the extreme east it was separated from Thrace by the valley of the river Nestus near Philippi. To the south it stretched as far as the Malian gulf on one side and the Acroceraunian promontory on the other. Subsequent changes in the boundaries must here be disregarded.

The general policy of the Macedonian monarchs had been to establish centres of urban life, which might at the same time be fortresses of strength. To break up the peoples (ἔθνη) by multiplying the 'Polis' was their constant endeavour.

Arrian places in Alexander's mouth these words, addressed to the Macedonians: "My father led you down from the mountains to the plains; when you lived in scattered homes he made you dwellers in cities; and he equipped you with institutions adapted to your changed mode of life." We have precise accounts of the manner in which two important cities were called into being by the king Cassander. Strabo tells us that Thessalonica (formerly Therma) was named by him after his consort. No fewer than twenty-six communities lying near the Thermaic gulf were amalgamated to form one civic body. Naturally the 'territorium' was large, extending about thirty-eight Roman miles inland, and stretching by the sea from the mouth of the river Axius to the peninsula of Pallênê. It is not necessary to suppose, with Strabo, that the twenty-six smaller towns were destroyed. A 'synoikismos' was carried out like that attributed to Theseus in Attica, and resembling the arrangement made by Caesar in connexion with Nemausus in Gaul. The absorbed places continued to possess minor civic organisations, those proper to the village, the 'kômê' or 'deme.' They would be permitted to maintain their old social and religious institutions and their individuality would not die out, though the separate citizenships would be lost in the one general citizenship of the new foundation. Similarly Cassander replaced the old Potidaea, which the father of Alexander had effaced, by Cassandreia, embodying in it a number of small places in Pallênê. And in just the same way Dêmêtrius Poliorkêtês founded Dêmêtrias, and made it embrace practically the whole of the Magnesian people.

The towns of Greek pattern in Macedonia were numerous before the Roman age, but we have no great amount of information concerning them. Old colonial settlements, chiefly on the coast, were many. The immigrants came mainly from Euboea, especially from Eretria and Chalkis. The latter city gave the name Chalkidikê to the three peninsulas of Pallênê, Sithonia and Aktê with the land lying immediately to the north of them. In quite early days the Greeks had made some impression on the culture of the Macedonian inland,

just as Massalia and her daughter colonies had affected the interior of Gaul. Later, the Hellenic leaven had so far permeated the country that Strabo could say: "Macedonia too is Hellas." The roll of cities of some consequence which were older than the Roman conquest is not brief. Some that are almost unknown to literature, Lêtê for example, attained a high degree of prosperity. The land of Macedon was far richer than southern Greece and could support them well.

Soon after the Romans took over the country they constructed a highway from Dyrrachium to the Thracian coast, afterwards prolonged to Byzantium, the famous 'via Egnatia.' It followed, no doubt, the line of a prehistoric trade route. As an approach to Constantinople the road has been of great moment in history, and in this respect resembles that by which Constantinople is reached from the Danube. Towns situated on it naturally flourished, and among them were some of the principal places in the Macedonian province, Apollonia, Edessa, Pella, Thessalonica, Amphipolis and Philippi.

There was no marked interference by Rome with the municipal institutions which she found in the country. From the first the Balkan peninsula, as a whole, was recognised, like Asia, as belonging to the Hellenic sphere of influence. The cities without exception continued to be almost entirely Greek in their character down to the end of the empire. Only a few Roman settlements were made, by Caesar and Augustus. As in Asia, the Greek environment was too strong to allow the settlers any power of affecting the language and institutions of the country; indeed they were rapidly graecised themselves. Very few places at a later time received the colonial title. Pliny reckons in Macedonia proper (excluding Thessaly and Epirus) a hundred and fifty "populi," that is communities possessing local autonomy either of the urban or of the tribal kind.

The greatest Macedonian city all through the Roman period was Thessalonica, and such she had been since she was called into existence by Cassander. She boasted of herself as the "First City and Mother City" of Macedonia.

Her name is conspicuous in imperial annals. She was a 'free' city, one of the few in the province, and 'Liberty' is to be seen on her coins. When the title of colony was bestowed upon her, it was in recognition of a glorious defence against the Goths, in the third century, during the reign of Valerian. In the story of the Christian Church, the connexion of the city with Paul is memorable, and almost equally memorable is the massacre perpetrated there by the great Theodosius, on which ensued the celebrated penance enforced upon the emperor by Ambrose at Milan. Even now the future of Thessalonica is of great concern to Europe. Amphipolis on the river Strymon, colonised over and over again by Greeks, and a bone of contention between Athens and Sparta, and again between Athens and Macedon, was a 'libera civitas,' but never shone greatly after the time of Demosthenes. South-west of Thessalonica was Beroea, away from the sea, near the Pierian mountains. Thither Paul and Silas fled from Thessalonica, and Paul preached there with acceptance. Beroea was the first Macedonian town to yield homage to Rome after the battle of Pydna, and its fortune after that was good. In Lucian's 'Ass' it appears as a rich and populous place. Neapolis, on the coast near Philippi, was also visited by Paul. There were other Hellenic towns of some account in the portion of Macedonia which is east of mount Scardus, Herakleia Lynkestica, Herakleia Sintica, Edessa and others, but little is known of their careers. Of all the towns, Apollonia near Dyrrachium had the longest connexion with Rome, having concluded an alliance on the death of Rome's enemy, Pyrrhus of Epirus. This old city, a colony of Corcyra, which played a part in the Peloponnesian war, had an oligarchical constitution of a peculiar type. Power rested with those who could claim descent from the original colonists. In spite of the ravages of war both before the Roman period, and in the early part of it, Apollonia was wealthy until the day of general decay arrived. Cicero calls it "magna urbs et gravis," and Strabo thought it "most well governed" (εὐνομωτάτη). It was a place of resort for study, and Octavian and Agrippa

were students here when the news of Caesar's assassination impelled them to seek Italy and carve out their great fortunes.

Stobi, an inland city on the road from Thessalonica to the Danube, was the only 'municipium' which received its charter from Augustus, and no other entered on the same status till the reign of Caracalla. Stobi acquired the colonial title in the third century. The Roman colonies actually planted in the country were all military. The first was settled by the Triumvirs at Philippi, to be a memorial of the great victory won near the spot. It had been a small place established by immigrants from the isle of Thasos, in order to exploit the gold mines at mount Pangaeus. Philip the father of Alexander had increased it and given it his own name. Under the Romans it rose higher and was populous down into the Middle Ages, but has not endured to our time. Geographically it belonged to Thrace, but was included in Roman Macedonia. Dyrrachium too, the ancient Epidamnus, also a colony of Corcyra and one of the proximate causes of the Peloponnesian war, was greater as a Roman city than it had ever been in the days of Greek freedom. It was the common starting-point for expeditions on the Greek mainland. From the Illyrian wars till the time of Augustus it was a free state under Roman suzerainty. Then it became a colony in a curious manner. Some veterans of legions which had been under Antony's command were settled on farms in Italy after the battle of Philippi. During the contest which ended at Actium they showed their sympathy with their old commander. For this they were deported from Italy and planted at Dyrrachium, which became 'colonia iuris Italici.' Philippi and some other Macedonian places also received contingents of these malcontents. Other Augustan military colonies were Bullis, not far from Apollonia and, on the eastern side of the province, Pella, the old Macedonian capital, Cassandreia, already mentioned, and Dium, a small town much favoured by the old monarchs. It was from this place that Metellus Macedonicus took away to Rome the famous equestrian statues wrought by Lysippus to commemorate the

Macedonians who fell at the battle of the Granicus. It may be noted that passages in Caesar's 'Civil War' indicate that a considerable number of time-expired soldiers had voluntarily settled down in Macedonia, as in other eastern provinces. In 49 B.C. Caesar enrolled a legion drawn from Macedonia and Crete, composed of veterans "released from service by earlier commanders." Another was enlisted in Cilicia. Two legions organised in Asia are not described as consisting of old soldiers.

Roman Macedonia included a district which in the classical Greek age was regarded as Thracian, the region called Chalkidikê, with its three peninsulas and the shore stretching to the mouth of the Strymon, near to which was situated the famous Amphipolis. It is to this tract of country that the expression "Thraceward affairs," common in the Attic orators, mostly had reference. The polities of this land were more important in the eyes of the old Greek states than those of Thessaly, where there had been no great attempt at Hellenic colonisation. The cities here had a noteworthy history. The Olynthian confederacy was prominent for a long period in the contentions in which Sparta, Athens and Macedon engaged. But Olynthus was blotted out by Philip and was never refounded. Of all these cities called Thracian which figured in pages of Athenian historians and orators, only Amphipolis and, under its new name of Cassandreia, the old Potidaea, held any place of consequence in later records. Towns such as Akanthos, Mendê, Scionê, Toronê, Aphytis, which had been powerful and capable of showing a bold front in war, and had been important contributors to the Delian confederacy, almost vanished out of existence. It is not easy to account for the insignificance of the Chalcidic commonwealths under Roman rule. The greatest native of the region was Aristotle, born at Stageira, a town first destroyed by Philip and then rebuilt by him in honour of its great citizen who had become Alexander's preceptor. Its later annals have disappeared.

A number of tribes in old Macedonia retained their primitive structure, despite the endeavours of the kings to graecise

them. We have but little information as to the manner in which these were treated by the Roman government. No direct attempt seems to have been made to substitute municipal for tribal organisations. The history of Roman Macedonia was probably similar in this respect to the history of Roman Gaul. The self-government of the tribes in course of time assimilated itself to the self-government of the towns. One clan, the Bottiaei, issued coins in the Roman period. In his "Lives of the Sophists" Philostratos tells how a certain sophist, Philiskos, was subjected to civic burdens by the Eordaei, a people of south-eastern Macedonia, because his mother had belonged to them, although immunity had been conferred by Rome on all men of his profession. Among this people the system of the 'liturgy' was in operation, as in the ordinary Greek city. It is probable that some of the clans were subjected for a time at least to the control of the cities lying near them. Considering what was achieved in Pannonia and Moesia, it is surprising that the government did so little to promote among the less civilised peoples in Macedonia either their own or the Hellenic form of civic commonwealth. There was a 'koinon' embracing the whole of Macedonia proper, as distinct from Thessaly and from southern Greece, the later province of Achaia. It is noticeable that even in the third century A.D. the Macedonian towns in common, and individual towns apart, issued coins bearing the image of Alexander the Great. A piece struck at Beroea which can be dated to 245 A.D. shows that the 'koinon' sometimes had this town, as well as Thessalonica, for its place of assembly, and also that, like Thessalonica, Beroea possessed the coveted honour of the 'Neocorate.'

Thessaly was an old Greek land whose peoples were represented from early times in the Amphiktyony of Delphi. Its interventions in Greek politics were not of the first importance until after the Peloponnesian war. Such organisation as there was in the country largely depended on the cities, which were numerous, as was to be expected in a land of great natural resources. Coins of nearly fifty towns have come down to us.

They formed a loose alliance, which elected a general named 'tagus' (ταγός). The office seems to have been almost the property of great noble families, the Aleuadae and the Scopadae, who were especially strong in the important towns of Larissa, Pharsalus, and Krannôn. The clans, whose organisation was tribal, appear to have been attached in the main to the cities. The structure of society was largely feudal. A considerable portion of the workers on the soil were attached to it by a species of serfdom, and these were known as Penestae. Nowhere in the ancient world was the conflict between rich and poor more acute and more persistent than in Thessaly. By professing themselves the champions of the poor against the rich, tyrants sprang up, Lykophron and Jason of Pherae, who were able to concentrate in their own hands the control of the whole forces of the country and for a time threatened to anticipate the destiny of Macedon, and to bring all Greece into subjection. But the particularism of the cities in Thessaly, as in other Greek lands, enabled Philip II of Macedon to carry out an easy conquest. Demosthenes somewhere speaks sarcastically of the manner in which Philip garrisoned a city "in order forsooth that the citizens might govern themselves." The orator himself, when Athenian ambassador, had accompanied Philip on a tour through Thessaly, when the king, in making a treaty with Athens, inscribed the Thessalians as his "allies."

The Macedonian sovereignty greatly obscured the older Thessalian polity, and when Flamininus cut the country adrift from Macedon, a reorganisation was necessary. Not all the Thessalian cities were freed; some had passed into the hands of the Aetolian league, or of other allies of Rome, from whom they could not be taken away. The arrangements made by Flamininus and the senatorial commission were considerably disturbed when the Romans, a few years later, needed Philip's help against Antiochus, and he was allowed to reconquer parts of Thessaly. But when the Macedonian monarchy was terminated, the ordinances of Flamininus were in substance restored and, as is seen from inscriptions, appeal

continued to be made to them for a long period. The new settlement paid attention to ethnic limitations. The district called, in a narrow sense, Thessaliôtis was united with that properly named Phthiôtis, the home of the northern Achaeans, and the cities within the region formed a union or 'koinon,' with federal institutions and an elected head called 'stratêgos.' This section of the country possessed important cities. Larissa on the Peneus was the old seat of the Aleuadae and the capital of the league. It has had a continuous existence down to our day. Magnesia, the land of the Magnêtes, stretching from the mouth of the Peneus to the southern extremity of the Pagasaean gulf, resembled Attica in its constitution, inasmuch as it had but one city Dêmêtrias, at the head of the gulf (now the gulf of Volo). The smaller towns were placed in the same position with regard to the capital as that in which the 'demes' stood with respect to Athens. The chief magistrate had the ethnic title 'Magnetarches,' changed later to 'stratêgos.' The Perrhaebi again who dwelt between mount Olympus and Tempe had a separate 'koinon.' So with the Dolopes, whose land was a wild district on the slopes of Pindus. To the south, sometimes reckoned as within Thessaly, sometimes as outside it, were the Aeniani with a 'koinon' of their own, whose centre was Hypata. In the 'Metamorphoses' of Apuleius there is a glowing account of the wealth of this city in the second century. These separate tribal federations can be traced down into the imperial age, when they gradually disappear, becoming absorbed, it would seem, in the general federation of Thessaly. The district to the north of the Malian gulf and that to the south-west of it, bordering on mount Oeta, were sometimes reckoned as Thessalian.

Thessaly had not been much affected by the foundation in it of Hellenic colonies. Hence the fully developed Greek culture spread but slowly, though much of the population was of true Hellenic descent. The Romans did little or nothing to enrich the urban organisation of the land. No Roman colony was ever planted on Thessalian soil nor, so far as is known, did any Thessalian city become a colony in

the titular sense. The Balkan peninsula as a whole was as little touched by Roman municipalism as the Asiatic continent, but no other part of the peninsula was so completely left alone as Thessaly. The devastations of the wars carried on in the country and the turbulence of the people, and the neglect of the rulers all combined, caused Thessaly to lag behind Macedonia and Thrace in development, though the nature of the land was just as favourable to the extension of the municipal principle. Livy speaks of constant civic turmoil among the people, who could not conduct "assembly, convention or meeting" (*nec comitia nec conventum nec concilium*) without tumult, a state of things which had persisted, he says, from time immemorial down to his own day. Thessaly was 'freed' by Flamininus, but he persuaded the cities to maintain an aristocratic form of government, based on a registration of property. Rome thus followed Macedon in favouring the rich against the poor in the towns of the land, where the struggle between classes had always been severe. Cicero spoke of the Thessalians as "truly free," apart from the illegalities perpetrated by some governors of Macedonia. It is surprising, therefore, that Caesar, after the victory at Pharsalus, decreed again the freedom of Thessaly. Pliny indicates that this city occupied some special position as 'civitas libera.' When the province of Achaia was created in 27 B.C. Thessaly formed part of it, but later was attached to Macedonia, probably by Vespasian.

Northward of Macedonia, in Thrace, Hellenic colonisation was confined almost entirely to the coast, and historic circumstances were adverse to the permeation of the interior by Greek culture. The sturdy Thracian race was not easily to be won over to civilisation. The later Macedonian princes had not been able to keep the control over the land which had been won by Philip and Alexander. The mountainous character of the country rendered natural its division among distinct tribes, ruled by continually changing chiefs. The Romans early took under their government the southern coast district and the Chersonese, that is to say, the sections

where Greek influence was strongest, and treated them as parts of the Macedonian province. In the reign of Augustus the separate princedoms, partly by Roman contrivance, were amalgamated, and one dynasty was supreme in Thrace, then a convenient 'buffer state' interposed between Macedonia and the outer barbarians, and responsible for the defence of the lower Danube. But when Pannonia and Moesia were pacified, annexation was inevitable. Interference increased and Claudius put the native rulers aside. Thrace was then organised as a minor province, administered by an imperial agent (*procurator*), dependent on the governor of Moesia. The form of organisation was peculiar. Probably the Romans found it already established and continued it; but some scholars have supposed it to be a new arrangement. It was similar to a scheme of administration which we have already observed in Cappadocia. The country was divided into sections called 'generalships' (stratêgiai), each administered by a kind of viceroy or satrap, entitled 'stratêgos.' These districts were named, apparently, like the Gaulish 'civitates,' each from a prominent tribe or clan dwelling in it. Thus one division drew its designation from the people called Bessi, a wild nation dwelling by the upper waters of the Hebrus, who gave the Romans much trouble until they were finally subdued in 11 B.C. Pliny wrote in the first century of these administrative sub-divisions as numbering fifty; Ptolemy in the second century as no more than fourteen. It is a natural conjecture that, as in Cappadocia, the Romans gradually superseded the old system by creating communities of an urban character, or at least native 'civitates' such as we have found in Gaul, Spain and Africa. In some cases backward tribes were, we may suppose, 'attributed' to the towns. Strabo reckoned the separate Thracian peoples as twenty-two and described them all as uncivilised and turbulent banditti. A few Roman colonies came into existence in Thrace, but the whole subsequent development was overwhelmingly Hellenic. Claudius, on taking over the country, established a colony at Apri, not far from the old Greek city of Perinthus. Although not much mentioned in history, this

place was in the fourth century A.D. one of the most considerable towns in Thrace. Then Vespasian planted veterans of the Eighth Legion at Deultus (or Develtos) not far from the Euxine, near the northern boundary of the province. This foundation also to some extent flourished. It is not certain that any other Roman settlement was made; and the only sure example of the bestowal of the title of colony concerns Philippopolis, which received the honour only three years before its destruction by the Goths in 251. This city, chief town of the country, was situated in a plain by the Hebrus, and lay on the great route which left the Danube at Viminacium, passed through Naissus (Nisch) and Serdica (Sofia) and struck the Propontis at Perinthus, finally reaching Byzantium. Philippopolis was founded or Graecised by Philip, father of Alexander; but soon fell into the hands of the barbarous Thracians. The annexation by Claudius enabled it to start a new lease of life as a Greek commonwealth, and it became the capital of the province. Its greatness is attested by the tale of the crowning disaster, when a Roman governor treacherously surrendered it to the savagery of the Goths. The inhabitants are said to have numbered a hundred thousand. One town of little note, called Coela, was a Roman 'municipium' issuing coins with Latin inscriptions. The effect of the Roman annexation was greatly to strengthen the Greek element interspersed among the Thracian people; and evidence of this is the creation by Trajan of two Greek municipalities which flourished, Trajanopolis and Plotinopolis, the latter named from the emperor's wife Plotina. Both cities were on the Hebrus; Trajanopolis at or near the point where the Via Egnatia crosses the river. Plotinopolis was to the north. When Hadrian founded the city of Hadrianopolis on the great road from the Danube to Byzantium, a route ran south from it by Plotinopolis to join the Egnatian way. The name of Hadrianopolis has been written large on the page of history from its foundation to our day, when we know it as Adrianople. Hadrian's biographer tells us that the emperor gave his name to many 'civitates.' This was the

most important of all. It was situated on the right bank of the Hebrus, in a wide and fruitful plain, and the river was navigable from this point to the sea. Commerce and industry nourished Hadrianopolis, and it was a mighty fortress as well. One of the greatest of historical dramas was enacted under its walls, when in 378 the Goths destroyed the imperial forces almost to the last man, and killed the emperor Valens. But the city defended itself with success. This is the concluding scene in the history of Ammianus, "miles quondam et Graecus," as he describes himself.

Other towns show marks of the activity of Trajan. An important place was Beroe (Eski Sagra). It was an old Thracian city, reconstructed by Trajan on Greek lines, with the usual constitution of Dêmos, Gerousia, and Archontes. Inscriptions indicate that the burgesses named themselves after the emperor, and called their town "the town of the people of Trajan." On coins the title Augusta Traiana (Αὐγούστη Τραιάνη) occurs. This strong place was in a position to control important passes through the Balkans. Remains of the Roman walls are still visible. When the Crusaders plundered Beroe in 1190, they found it, as is said, "a very opulent city." Serdica (now Sofia) on the great Danube route was in the time of the early empire reckoned as belonging to Thrace, though its position would rather place it in Moesia. The name Ulpia which appears on its coins in the third century may be a reminiscence of some connexion with Trajan. The same title was assumed by Anchialos on the Euxine, a 'civitas magna' in the fourth century, according to Ammianus.

The long line of Greek cities placed at short intervals on or near the coast, from the mouth of the river Nestus to the point at which the Balkans come down to the Black Sea, had little brilliance, on the whole, after the Romans incorporated Thrace in their empire. Abdêra, once a member of the Delian confederacy, and the fatherland of famous men, among them Democritus and Protagoras, was a byword for stupidity with every schoolboy of the imperial age. Crippled by the

barbarians, it was made a free city by the Romans. Further on, by the mouth of the Hebrus, was Ainos, a city old enough to find a mention in the Iliad. This is the commonwealth of which Virgil declared Aeneas to be the founder. Here the ghost of Polydorus appeared and bade Aeneas flee the land. So far as is known, Ainos did not trace itself to Aeneas, doubtless because it claimed to be a far more ancient city. Virgil has confused it with Aineia in Macedonia. That town issued before 500 B.C. a coin which presents now the oldest picture of the flight from Troy. Aeneas appears with his father Anchises on his shoulders and in front of him is Creusa carrying Ascanius. Ainos was in 190 B.C. in possession of the Egyptian king, and was then freed by Rome. The Thracian Chersonese had a number of old Hellenic colonies, whose annals under the empire are in most cases almost a blank. By the side of the Hellespont stood Lysimacheia, established in 309 B.C. by Lysimachus, the great general of Alexander, to replace an older town destroyed by him. The isthmus at this point was narrow, and so the city was important for land as well as for sea warfare. South of it was Kallipolis, the modern Gallipoli, whose name is that which Plato in his 'Republic' applies to his ideal city. Here was fought one of the few great maritime battles of the imperial age, when the fleet of Constantine shattered that of Licinius. Elaieus, near the entrance to the Hellespont, was, from its situation, of concern to rulers, down to the time of Justinian. Sestus, nearly at the narrowest point of the Dardanelles, was more famous for the story of Hero and Leander than for its intrinsic importance. It was an old Aeolic foundation, recolonised by Athens. A place of much more consequence was Perinthus (also named Herakleia) which was at the point on the Hellespont where the two great roads to Byzantium met, the Via Egnatia coming from the Adriatic and the route from the Danube which passed through Serdica, Philippopolis and Hadrianopolis. The fortunes of this city were from of old closely bound up with those of Byzantium. It was near Perinthus that assassins struck down Aurelian, called the 'renovator of the world' (*restitutor orbis*).

Byzantium, the greatest city of the Thracian land, was administratively connected with the province of Bithynia both before there was a province of Thrace and afterwards. Its position therefore resembled the position of Tingi in Africa before Mauretania was annexed. Its foundation lay so far in the dim past that a number of Greek cities could assert its connexion with them, and not fear a decisive refutation. The one thing certain is that it was a Doric colony. Its magnificent site made it one of the first commercial cities of Hellas, second only in the earlier Roman period to Rhodes. Its greatest function was the protection of Greek commerce passing in and out of the Euxine. Its fortifications held back the Thracian barbarians and its fleet secured the sea against pirates. Its natural policy, like that of Rhodes, was to maintain so far as possible friendly relations with all the world, and if compelled to take sides, then to join the apparently stronger power. The relations of Byzantium with Athens were close and at most times friendly and it was often allied with powerful cities such as Chalcedon and Herakleia on the Asiatic side. The chief cause of contest with Hellenic cities was the imposition of a toll on passing trade. On the whole the city was successful in maintaining this impost. For the most part, it was strong enough to preserve its autonomy. Co-operation with the Romans led in 146 B.C. to a definite treaty of alliance. Cicero describes the place as "a free community, whose freedom was bestowed by the Senate and people of Rome for pre-eminent services rendered." Afterwards it was made tributary, we know not how, and Claudius restored its privilege, only that Vespasian might take it away once more. But a later emperor, perhaps Hadrian, freed it again. Then came the greatest disaster of old Byzantine history. The city joined Pescennius Niger, and held out for three years against the forces of Septimius Severus. The strength of Byzantium against besieging armies has been demonstrated many times over, from the day when Philip II of Macedon, aided by all the devices of Greek engineering skill, was driven back from the walls. In 193 A.D. the conqueror destroyed its

fortifications and took away all its liberties. It was degraded to the rank of a village (kômê) and subjected to Perinthus, its territory being annexed to that of the new lords. As Perinthus had been, in a sort, a client town of Byzantium, the fate was bitter, and the Perinthians used their advantage to the utmost, in order to humiliate their former suzerain. But all over the Roman world the depression of this famous commonwealth was accounted a danger to the empire. So Septimius Severus imitated an old political comedy. Just as the youthful Nero pleaded before Claudius for the freedom of Rhodes and of Ilium, so the boy Caracalla harangued his father on behalf of Byzantium, and its status was restored. When Diocletian rearranged the provinces, not Byzantium but Perinthus was made capital of the division in which both these cities were situated. The turbulence of the Byzantine population was perhaps the reason. When Constantine decreed that Byzantium should be the great imperial centre, and renamed it Constantinopolis, it had long been in a highly prosperous condition. Though essentially a Greek city, this new Rome copied the old Rome in most of its institutions.

We now pass to the Roman province of Achaia, which included all the mainland that Thucydides and Demosthenes would have recognised as belonging to European Hellas, along with some adjacent islands; further some semi-Greek peoples were included, like those of Acarnania, and non-Hellenic tribes, such as the Epirotes. In thinking of this region under Roman rule the scholar is conscious of some familiar and pitiable descriptions of its decay. There is a striking passage in a stately letter of consolation sent by the great lawyer Sulpicius to Cicero after the death of the orator's daughter Tullia. The writer was himself in deep trouble at the moment. "On my journey back from Asia, as I was sailing from Aegina towards Megara, I began to survey the places round about. Behind me was Aegina, in front of me Megara, on my right Piraeus, on my left Corinth, cities which at one time were most prosperous, but now lie before our eyes

overthrown and in ruins. I began to reflect thus in my mind: 'are we poor mortals vexed when one of us has died or been killed, though our life is bound to be quite short, when in one district lie stretched out the dead bodies of so many cities?'" Within a very few years Corinth at least was to bloom afresh and become one of the first cities in the world. Not long afterwards, Horace wrote of "empty Athens." Then we hear Plutarch's wails about the depopulation of Greece. He quotes a philosopher called Ammonios as asserting that the whole country could not furnish more than three thousand hoplites, just the number that Megara alone despatched to the field of Plataea. Ammonios was head of the Academy at Athens in the first century, and teacher of Plutarch. He is notable as a forerunner of the New Platonism. His statement is commonly accepted as true, not merely for the time at which he wrote, but for the whole imperial period. But there is much to show that it was a gross rhetorical exaggeration. The decay of Greece was a favourite theme for rhetoric. It is handled, for instance, by Seneca in his ninety-first epistle. He says there that even the foundations of some most celebrated cities have been swept away, so that not a relic remains to show that they ever were. Of what great historical Greek town was this true? A detailed study of the cities of Greece produces a far different impression from that which Sulpicius, Ammonios, Seneca and other ancient pessimists convey. Strabo made a hasty journey through Greece on his return from Asia, at a time when its fortunes were at their worst, in 29 B.C. His spirit was naturally depressed. Some of his assertions can be shown to have been mistaken, and to have depended on second-hand information. Many others would have had to be greatly modified a hundred years later. There was on the whole steady progress down to the time of the first Gothic invasion in 267 B.C., then a gradual decline which well-wishers to Greece like Julian and Justinian could not stay.

Wonderful indeed it is that any part of ancient European Greece should have shown vitality after the miseries and

disasters which run through its annals. From the earliest known era it had been seething with enmities. As civilisation progressed wars became more calamitous. After the classic contests came the ruinous struggles of the Macedonian period, the continual draining away of the population by mercenary military services, the exhausting conflicts that accompanied the Roman conquest, the barbarities of the Roman army, abetted by the baser commanders, impossible of restraint by the nobler, the cruelties of Roman governors and usurers, the horrible anarchy of the Mithridatic invasion, the internecine contentions of Roman leaders, fought out largely in the cockpits of Boeotia and Thessaly, and frequent attacks by barbarians from the north. When peace came with the supremacy of Augustus, it was not to be expected that revival should be so vigorous as elsewhere. The Asiatic provinces were far richer in natural resources, and in spite of the cruellest misfortunes, had never been so sorely tried. Again, in northern parts of the province of Achaia and beyond it to the north, nature was far more kindly than in the old Greece proper. It was a normal development which caused the cities of Macedonia and Thrace, to say nothing of those in Asia, to outshine the communities of the south. We have seen that the Roman government failed culpably in its treatment of Thessaly, Aetolia, and Acarnania. The same may be said of Epirus. Little or no attempt was made to heal the wounds inflicted by historic calamities. The process of Hellenisation was arrested. There was no serious endeavour to cover these regions either with the Greek or with the Roman municipal institutions. If the empire had given to these districts only a fraction of the benevolent attention which was bestowed on the Danube region and the backward sections of many other provinces, there is no reason why a great evolution should not have taken place.

The country of Epirus, inhabited by an Illyrian stock, was well fitted in some respects to be a field for the spread of Hellenism. Though mountainous, it could support a

considerable pastoral and agricultural population. But as it is ringed round by mountains, except where the plains about Ambracia border on the sea, it needed the fostering hand of Hellenophil authority to lay it open to Greek civilisation. Pyrrhus, the redoubtable enemy of Rome, prince of the chief Epirote nation, the Molossi, welded the different peoples together to form a single power. Then towns of Hellenic structure began to arise, and Epirus joined in the general movement of Greek civilisation, from the village to the city. In true Hellenistic fashion, the reigning dynasty grafted their pedigree on to that of the Aeacidae and claimed Achilles for their ancestor. Something like a federation of cities seems to have been evolved under the presidency of the king. The monarchy ended about 234 B.C. and was succeeded by a republic, which took the form of a league of civic communities resembling the great Achaean and Aetolian confederations. But not all Epirote tribes were included in the union. The Athamanes bordering on Thessaly were under the rule of native princes. At times the Aetolians possessed themselves of Epirote towns and territory. There was therefore a natural antipathy between Aetolians and Epirotes, which led inevitably to alliance with Macedon, the inveterate foe of Aetolia. Loyalty to Macedon led to conflict with Rome and lasting ruin. By a formal decree the Senate delivered over the cities and people of Epirus to be harried by the Roman soldiers. Aemilius Paulus executed the order by methods which were most drastically and ingeniously effective. Seventy towns were sacked and 150,000 inhabitants sold into slavery in one and the same hour, says the record. Plutarch describes the horror which ran through the world on the perpetration of this barbarity, so contrary to the genius of the general who superintended it. Scholars, Niebuhr among the number, have not unnaturally fancied that the awful deed was prompted by a desire to avenge the invasion of Italy by Pyrrhus, the Epirote monarch. Epirus never recovered from the blow. In the reign of Antoninus Pius it was a small procuratorial province with Acarnania attached. Ruins of ancient towns

are scattered far and wide; but hardly any of them have been carefully examined as yet.

The emperors did little for a country which had shown itself capable of taking its place among the Hellenised lands. We do not hear much of Epirote towns in the imperial age. Ambracia, an old Corinthian colony near the northern coast of the gulf, was distinguished among them. After Pyrrhus established his court there it had a brilliant period. Then it fell into the power of the Aetolians, and was stormed by a Roman army in 189 B.C., when the commander Fulvius transported its rich artistic treasures to Rome. The city was then declared free, and its territory seems to have been extensive. But the foundation of Nikopolis, opposite Actium, by Augustus, sapped its well-being. It is one of three towns in Epirus that received benefits from Hadrian, the others being Dodona and Orikos. The ancient temple and oracle of Dodona, older than Homer, lay in a rich region of which Janina, near the ancient site, is now the capital. Orikos, on the slope of the Ceraunian range, was counted as Epirote, but was rather Illyrian. It was renovated after Hadrian's time by the great benefactor of the Grecian world, Herodes Atticus.

Of cities established by Rome in Epirus there were but few. By far the greatest was Nikopolis, on the peninsula which formed the northern end of the Ambracian gulf. Here Augustus carried out a 'synoikismos' of a genuine Greek pattern. His proceedings resemble closely those which marked the foundation of Thessalonica, Tigranocerta, Sebastê (Samaria), and other towns which have formed part of our study. The spot chosen was where the tent of Augustus had been pitched, on a height overlooking the scene of the naval victory at Actium. Here an altar consecrated to Apollo, as Dio Cassius tells, or to Neptune and Mars, according to Suetonius, was destined to be the centre of a new city. It was adorned with the beaks of Antony's vessels, taken in the battle. Near by were bronze statues commemorating an ass and his driver. Augustus had encountered them on the morning of the battle and had asked their names. The driver was called 'Fortunate'

(Eutychus) and his beast 'Victorious' (Nikôn). The omen was hailed with delight, and these figures became the emblems of the new city. In the twelfth century Zonaras, the statesman turned monk who wrote a world history, saw the statues in the Hippodrome at Constantinople, and they are said to have been destroyed when the Latins plundered the city. In order to obtain burgesses for his new creation, Augustus drove in by compulsion colonists from Ambracia, the Amphilochian Argos, and towns of Acarnania and Aetolia. They were forced to bring with them statues of gods and other artistic possessions to beautify their new abode. Pausanias has a tale which he thought probable, that to escape this conscription a great many Aetolians migrated to the Locrian town of Amphissa. Nikopolis was liberally endowed with territory and public buildings and privileges. Tacitus erred in describing it as a Roman colony; it was entirely Greek in its composition. The lands attached to the municipality were of wide extent. It was a free city, and it was given an important place in the renovated Delphic Amphiktyony, of which we shall have to speak by and by. Opposite Nikopolis, on the other side of the strait by which the Ambracian gulf is entered, was a shrine of Apollo which was the old sacred meeting place of the Acarnanian league. Augustus, who boasted himself in general the restorer of the old Roman religion, proclaimed that his victory was a favour given by this specially Greek god; so the worship of Actian Apollo, alone among divinities not native to Rome, was pressed upon his subjects. The temple at Actium was ennobled and games in honour of the god, to be celebrated every five years, were instituted. To the usual Greek athletic, musical and dramatic contests was added a ship-race, which became very celebrated. It is depicted on coins of Nikopolis, and prompted Virgil's picture of the Trojan ship-race in the fifth book of the 'Aeneid.' There was no city at Actium, though Pliny called it a Roman colony. The games held in honour of Actian Apollo took place at the new city on the other side of the strait. Their existence can be traced for

four centuries. Similar 'Actian' festivals were instituted in many parts of the empire and, though suppressed for a brief time by Caligula, continued in places till a late age. Strabo, writing a few years after the foundation of Nikopolis, tells us that the city was already populous and was growing daily. For a long time its fame was great; but in Julian's reign it was dilapidated. His panegyrist Mamertinus would have us believe that he restored its former glory; but few signs of its later existence are to be found. Servius, the commentator on Virgil, speaks curiously of a treaty between Rome and Nikopolis, in which it was provided that the Nikopolitans should pay regard to their "kinsmen" the Romans. The story ran that Helenus son of Priam had landed in Epirus, having married a lady of Aeacid race. Hence Virgil wrote of the Epirote cities as "cognate" to Rome.

Buthrotus on the coast of Epirus opposite Corcyra was an old Greek settlement, but enters into our historical records only with the war between Pompey and Caesar. Virgil's Aeneas touched at the spot in his wanderings, and heard much from Helenus about the fate of the Trojans. Atticus the friend of Cicero owned land in the neighbourhood and aided the citizens when they fell out with Caesar and dreaded punishment. After Augustus established peace, he despatched Roman colonists to the place, which till modern times had importance both as a commercial town and as a fortress. Extensive ruins of different ages mark the site. There is evidence, but shadowy, of the existence of a few other Epirote towns of little importance during the imperial period.

Near the western end of the Ambracian gulf was the Amphilochian Argos, regarded by Thucydides as a Hellenic city in a barbarian land. Ruins of considerable extent afford proof of its ancient eminence. The territory of the Amphilochians lay between Epirus and Aetolia. Argos was left free by Rome. It suffered much at the hands of the brutal governor Piso whom Cicero attacked. A number of its citizens were drained off for the benefit of Nikopolis, after which it faded in importance.

Aetolia (in the Roman sense of the name) had not been greatly affected by Hellenic civilisation when the Romans conquered it. Five Aetolian cities, evidently Hellenic and distinguished, figure in Homer. But Thucydides and the Greeks of the classical age regarded the Aetolians as barbaric. Their old centre was Thermon, the meeting place from ancient days of a loose tribal confederacy. The original Aetolians claimed affinity with the Eleians in the north-west of the Peloponnese. They extended their rule over tribes to the north whom the Greeks of the great age looked upon as savages. In the pages of Livy, Philip V of Macedon is made to admit the Hellenic character of some Aetolians, but to deny that the greater part of those who bore the name were Greeks. The Aetolians were natural enemies of the more civilised Greek peoples, and warred continually against the Achaean league and Macedon, making and losing many conquests in course of time. The Aetolian league of later days was based in the main on an organisation of towns and not of tribes. Its constitution gave no preponderance to any one civic commonwealth. In the "senate of all the cities of the Aetolians," as an ancient writer called it, each constituent city was represented according to its importance; a rare example of what is now called 'proportional representation.' A great deal of power rested with the general assembly, held every autumn at Thermon, in which every citizen of an Aetolian community who chose to attend had a vote. This elected to the offices, military and civil, and every citizen was eligible. The assembly enacted general ordinances in matters of common concern. There is little trace of interference with the internal autonomy of any city. Many communities joined the league to save themselves from plundering attacks; others became allies and paid contributions which resembled not a little the blackmail exacted by the Highland clans in Scotland from their Lowland neighbours. The places and peoples whom the Aetolians attached to themselves at one time or another were not only in northern Greece, Naupaktos for example, and the Aenianes, and

Locrians, and barbaric tribes in Acarnania and near it, but also comprised classic Greek states, such as Boeotia, and old Arcadian cities like Tegea, Mantinea, Orchomenos and Phigaleia. The net of alliance was spread widely and captured at different times many distant communities across the sea; for the Aetolians were pirates on the sea as well as brigands on the land. But the league and the list of allies were subject to rapid changes with the turns and shifts of Greek politics.

When Philip V provoked the Romans to war by his compact with Hannibal, they were naturally joined by the Aetolians. Though discontented, they were still on the side of the Romans in the Second Macedonian war, and irritated Flamininus by taking to themselves the credit for the victory of Cynoscephalae. The policy of 'liberating' Greece conflicted deeply with their interests, and threw them on the side of Antiochus. This led to their speedy and irretrievable ruin. The capture of Ambracia by M. Fulvius Nobilior compelled them to sue for terms. The league was restricted within national bounds, and compelled to keep the peace, though not formally dissolved till after the battle of Pydna, and then soon restored, with the attributes of the ordinary Greek 'koinon.' Not only the national brigandage, but the trade of the mercenary soldier which the Aetolians had carried on all over the world, was gone. Barbarous as the history of the Aetolians was, they deserve more than the Achaeans the credit of being the last champions of Greek freedom. Their opposition to Macedon gained for them much sympathy, and their doughty deeds at the time of the Celtic invasion made them heroes in the eyes of the whole Greek world, and enabled them to use for their ends the Delphic Amphiktyony, to which they were early attached. The condition of Aetolia under the empire is always depicted as miserable. Of the cities, once numerous, we hear indeed little, but some carried on the old traditions, especially Stratos and the ancient commonwealth of Naupaktos (Lepanto). Pliny only mentions six places, but he omits some that are known to have

continued a corporate existence. There are not wanting indications that the country revived, though the towns went to decay. No emperor healed the wound inflicted on the urban communities by the establishment of Nikopolis. Strabo speaks of a number of towns as having been made "suburban" (περιοικίδες) by the new creation of Augustus. Of two Aetolian places, Kalydôn and Pleurôn, he says that though now brought low, they were once commonwealths which were a credit to Hellas. Two towns, Arsinoe and Lysimacheia, were refounded by Hellenistic princes of Syria and Egypt, as the names indicate.

Acarnania, to the west of Aetolia, might well under favourable circumstances have become a Hellenised country. The natives had little or no affinity with the Greeks, but at one time colonies, chiefly founded by Corinth, had made some impression upon the land. It offered scope for both the pastoral and the agricultural life, on which the civic life might have been grafted. But the Acarnanians overwhelmed the Greek colonies, partly by the aid of the Athenians. Later on some towns of Greek character maintained themselves, and the Acarnanian league, once purely tribal, became in part municipal. Anaktorion, on the Ambracian gulf, a little to the east of Actium, once prominent in Greek politics, suffered from the splendour of Nikopolis. Another seaport, Alyzia, a Corinthian colony, was once adorned by works of the great sculptor Lysippus. It still lived in the days of Cicero, Strabo and Pliny. Leucas, also Corinthian by origin, was rendered independent of the Acarnanian confederacy after the battle of Pydna. Once of no small account, it passes out of sight after the second century. Thyrreion, inland to the south of Actium, obtained a favourable treaty from Rome. It also suffered from the 'synoikismos' carried out for the benefit of Nikopolis. Whether there was a 'koinon' of Acarnanian towns in the imperial time, as one would expect, is doubtful. From what has been said, it will be seen that, by way of paradox, the barbaric and semi-barbaric countries which were nearest to the developed Hellenic civilisation of Europe were far less affected

by it than lands which lay farther away. Acarnania and Aetolia were but little Hellenised in comparison with Macedonia and Thrace. And the Romans never gave the needed stimulus which they applied so successfully in Asia.

We come now to what may be called classic Greece. When we regard its state under the imperial system we are impressed by the intense tenacity with which the inhabitants clung to their municipal institutions, even in places where, and at times when, the population had dwindled almost to the point of vanishing. They maintained with glowing fervour all that connected them with their ancient and greater days. If this end was sometimes served by securing the favour of the wealthy through flattery and vain honours, they do not deserve the contempt that modern writers have poured on them. About a hundred towns which existed in classical times in Greece proper (excluding Acarnania, Epirus and Aetolia) are known to have continued in some manner their communal life in the time of the empire. The survey of Greece by Pausanias in the second century supplies valuable information concerning them. When Flamininus, in consonance with the policy of the Roman senate, declared the freedom of the cities released from Macedonian domination, it was real, and brought with it complete domestic autonomy and immunity from taxation. But subsequent commotions, the wars of Rome with Syria, the Achaean league and Mithridates, with the civil wars, brought on in many cases a change of status for the worse. When the province of Macedonia was constituted, the Greek commonwealths were not formally included in it. They were still regarded as independent and extra-provincial. But gradually the grip of authority closed upon them. In 27 B.C. Achaia was established as a separate province, and most of the cities within it appear to have been tributary. When Nero paid his famous visit to Greece, he parodied Flamininus and appeared at the Isthmian games as the universal liberator. He improved on his predecessor's drama by acting as his own herald, and making the announcement with his own voice. But shortly afterwards the boon

he gave was taken away by Vespasian on the ground that Greeks were unfitted to enjoy "liberty." He merely restored the *status quo*, without altering the special privileges which some cities had enjoyed. Old ethnic unions with a long religious history were allowed to exist, and some new combinations were formed. The celebrated Apollonios of Tyana was in Greece at the time of Nero's visit, and declared that Greece had suffered more from Nero than from Xerxes. Later he wrote angry letters to Vespasian, comparing him with Xerxes, much to the advantage of the Persian king.

The neighbours of the Aetolians to the eastward were the Ozolian Locrians, whose chief town Amphissa possessed 'immunitas' in the earlier imperial time. According to Pausanias, it was the only independent community in Ozolian Locris, the other towns having been made by Augustus subordinate to his great colony at Patrae. A quarrel between Amphissa and Delphi about territory once dedicated to Apollo ushered in the 'Sacred War,' which was the prelude to the "dishonest victory" at Chaeronea, fatal to Greek liberty. It is curious to find a recurrence of the old dispute in the reign of Domitian. An officer was appointed to determine the boundaries of lands in which Amphissa, Delphi and the Phocian town of Antikyra were interested. The award is recorded in an extant inscription, in which reference is made to a decision given by the consul M' Acilius Glabrio in 191 B.C.

Delphi, to the west of Locris, was commonly spoken of as part of Phocis. Before the Roman age, there had been many struggles for the control of the oracle at Delphi, at one time a great force in the Hellenic world. The Romans found the Aetolians in possession, but soon set Delphi free and made it, in theory at least, the capital of a small sacred state. The influence of Delphi was then still of no small account. The notable explorations of the French at the site have revealed much of the history of Delphi in the Roman period. The Mithridatic war, during which it was cruelly plundered by

Sulla, brought it low. Augustus endeavoured to revive Delphi and reconstituted the old Amphiktyony, whose origin was beyond recorded history. The ancient confederacy, religious at first, had at times played a great part in secular affairs. Of thirty votes in the reconstructed council, Augustus gave six each to his new city of Nikopolis, Macedonia and Thessaly; two each to Boeotia, Phocis, Delphi, Locri, the 'Ionians' and 'Dorians.' Strabo had found Delphi in poor estate, but there was a gradual revival, checked by the rapacity of Nero, but promoted by Trajan and Hadrian. The latter visited Delphi and accepted a magistracy in it. He diminished the votes of the Thessalians in the council and introduced representatives of Athens, Sparta and some other states. The privilege of striking coins, which depended on imperial favour and was everywhere prized as a sign of autonomy, was restored to Delphi by Trajan and was enjoyed for several generations. The barbarian invasions, beginning in the time of Marcus Aurelius, permanently sapped the new prosperity of Delphi, in spite of the generosity of later emperors. Constantine was a robber of the holy place. It was probably he who carried to Constantinople the famous serpent pillar which had been dedicated as a memorial of the victory of Plataea over the Persians, and the venerable monument still exists. The continuance of Delphi as a municipality can be traced down into the sixth century. In its territory was the ancient town of Kirrha, the landing place for pilgrims who approached Delphi by sea. The old feuds between Kirrha and Delphi had more than once led to war. Kirrha shared in any prosperity that the sacred centre experienced in the time of the empire.

The Phocian cities, apart from Delphi, had a league of their own. Though the land, owing to its position, had been exposed to dangers as much as any part of Greece, the richness of its soil preserved it to a great extent from the general suffering. It was preeminently a country of free peasant proprietors. Slavery was forbidden by ancient Phocian laws and only penetrated the land in the fourth century B.C.

Flourishing towns existed, and it is notable that when in 346 B.C. the Delphic Amphiktyony pronounced sentence against the Phocians, the towns, with the exception of Abae, were to be broken up into villages. A village was defined as a collection of not more than fifty houses and there was to be at least a distance of a 'stadion' between village and village. Phocis was thus relegated to the rear of Greek civilisation. Demosthenes describes the awful desolation of the land as he saw it. But it recovered marvellously. There was vigorous life to a late age in the principal city Elateia, which was situated in the valley of the Kephisos. Pausanias calls it "the greatest Phocian town after Delphi." It lay directly in the track of invaders from the north who, having passed Thermopylae, were making for central and southern Greece, and it barred a principal pass between north and south. A famous passage in the speech of Demosthenes on the Crown depicts the panic which fell upon Athens on one memorable evening when news came that Philip was in possession of Elateia. It espoused the cause of Macedon in the contest with Flamininus, and suffered, but the Romans gave it 'liberty' and immunity from taxation as a reward for a glorious defence against the generals of Mithridates. The line of its ancient walls can still in great part be seen. When the Dacians came down in 161 A.D. a brave athlete, an Olympian victor called Mnesiboulos, gathered together a band of citizens and inflicted a crushing defeat on the barbarians. Not many events of the kind are recorded in the history of towns during the imperial period. The leader was honoured by a bronze statue in his native city. It is clear from the pages of Pausanias that a number of other Phocian towns strove with more or less success to keep up municipal life, and his information is confirmed by inscriptions. Thus in imperial time Phocis showed something of the old vitality which had enabled it to revive after the almost total destruction of its cities by Philip V of Macedon. Besides Elateia, a few other places were 'autonomous,' among them Abae on the Boeotian border, one of the many old Greek places

which received favours from Hadrian, in his strenuous endeavours to uplift Hellas once more. Pathetic is the tale told of a little place called Lĕdon. When its inhabitants were reduced to seventy in number, they were forced to abandon their town, but still maintained their representation in the Phocian league. The tenacity with which ancient adornments, temples, shrines and halls were preserved in evil days by Phocian communities, is attested by Pausanias. At Hyampolis after seven hundred years or more an annual ceremony was still celebrated which commemorated a defeat inflicted on the Thessalians by a general named Daiphantos before the Persian wars. Families in Phocis boasted descent from this hero in Plutarch's time. Although towns in Phocis once brilliant, Panopeus for example, were reduced to collections of huts, others of old date, but little heard of in the classical age, were conspicuously prosperous. Such a city was Tithôra, which was wealthy in the early imperial period. It had an extensive and productive territory and exported largely the fruits of the soil. Antikyra, one of three places of the name, all famed for the production of hellebore, which cured madness, had suffered much from Roman brutality, but its favourable position for commerce and its good harbour raised its fortune again. Altogether, a study of Phocis during the reigns of the early emperors tends to modify the gloomy view usually taken of the state of Greece at the time. Next to Phocis was the territory of the Opuntian Locrians. Their chief city, Opus, the fatherland of the Homeric Patroklos, was of importance when Strabo visited it, and existed in the sixth century.

Boeotia had from the dawn of history suffered intensely from war and internal dissension, but its soil was able to support a considerable and a vigorous population down into the Roman age. The story of the relations of Thebes with the league of Boeotian towns is not unlike that of the relations of Rome with the Latin league. The Boeotians were partisans of Macedon and therefore unfriendly to Rome, with occasional treachery, for which no fatal punishment was awarded them

at the time. The ancient league was permitted to subsist. In the final struggle made by Macedon, only a portion of the Boeotians was involved. The ancient city of Haliartos was totally destroyed, and its territory assigned to Athens. The Boeotians in general joined the Achaeans and were twice severely defeated in 146 B.C. The league appears to have been dissolved, but allowed later to exercise the ordinary functions of a 'koinon.' When Mithridates came, the old enmity to Rome blazed up afresh, and entailed severe punishment from Sulla. In the contest between Pompey and Caesar the Boeotians once more attached themselves to the losing cause, and took a prominent part on the field at Pharsalus. The repeated devastations of Boeotia brought it to a low ebb. Sulla's anger deprived Thebes of half its territory, the revenues of which were to compensate the temples at Delphi, Olympia and Epidaurus for the confiscation of their treasure. Strabo found Thebes shrunk to a village and Dio Chrysostomos in the first century declared that only the Kadmeia was inhabited, the lower town being in ruins. Thebes was still poor when Pausanias saw it, but maintained with pride all its historic and legendary traditions. Other old towns were in similar bad plight at the end of the republican and the beginning of the imperial era. But that there was a noteworthy revival in the second and third centuries is clear even from the scanty records of separate cities which have survived. The glorious old legends which connected many places in Boeotia with Nymphs, Muses, heroes, poets, prophets and musicians, brought a continuous stream of pilgrims to the land. Artistic treasures and historic memories increased the attraction.

A number of minor Boeotian cities seem to have attained once more a fair degree of prosperity. This was the case with Tanagra, which had a large domain. Lebadeia throve by aid of the oracle of Trophonios and of the work of celebrated artists. Few Greek cities resisted extinction with greater obstinacy than Plataea. Never a large place, it was among the more fortunate towns even in the first century, and we

have evidence of its municipal continuance in the seventh or eighth century. Even places rased to the ground by Sulla came to life again. When the gruesome general was undergoing a cure for his gout at the sulphur baths of Aedepsos in Euboea some fishermen from Halae offered him fish as a present. He was greatly astonished to find that any citizens of Halae were still alive, but gave permission to the remnant to settle again in their native place. Anthedon, a seaport on the northern shore, was similarly victimised. But recent excavations have shown that it was in later days active in shipbuilding, fishing and the manufacture of purple. A curious document reveals to us a glimpse of the keenness with which ancient communities struggled to preserve dignity and corporate life. The little town of Akraiphia, on the northern edge of lake Copais, was not an independent member of the Boeotian confederation, but a dependency of Thebes. Yet it had the right to send a representative to the so-called 'Panhellenion,' a gathering in which all the cities of the Roman province of Achaia took part. In the year 37 A.D. a rich citizen of Akraiphia, who bore the splendid Boeotian name of Epameinondas, was representative. The 'Panhellenes,' as the members of the Achaean 'koinon' called themselves, voted to send to Rome an embassy to congratulate Caligula, during his brief period of popularity, on recovery from illness. There was a difficulty in finding any one from the Boeotian cities able and willing to undertake, with others, the costly mission. Epameinondas volunteered, and honours were showered upon him. The 'Panhellenes' decreed him a number of distinctions, including a golden crown, and the Boeotian league placed his portrait in the old federal temple of Athene Itonia at Chaeronea. The Thebans bestowed on him the franchise of their city and placed a likeness of him in their theatre. A venerable festival in honour of Apollo had been dropped for thirty years owing to the poverty of Boeotia. Epameinondas reinstated it with brilliance and connected it with the imperial name. On the occasion he feasted the whole male population round the shrine, bond and free alike,

and made them presents; his wife entertained the women in like manner. The statue of Epameinondas was set up in the temple of Apollo at which the celebration took place. The record also states that he built at his own cost a dam to keep off from the land the overflow from lake Copais. The inscription is a specimen of a great number which have been recovered, and thousands like them must have perished. They often afford to moderns matter for ridicule; the sound local patriotism that lay behind the absurdities is usually ignored. Undoubtedly in these extravagant expressions of gratitude, pride in the maintenance of the commonwealth's dignity, which amounted to an ingrained and essentially honourable passion among the Greeks, counted for much. It is fairly arguable whether the classical Hellenes were less 'vain' and 'childish' (favourite epithets with moderns) in such matters than their successors. Though autonomy in the old sense was no longer possible, the love of so much of it as could be retained burned brightly. Whenever a city of ancient fame was extinguished, or its freedom suppressed, there was sympathy over the Greek world. After the defeat of Perseus at Pydna, Rome handed over the Boeotian city of Haliartos to Athens and it was governed afterwards by an Athenian officer. Polybius severely blames the Athenians for this crime against liberty. He considered that autonomy, even when impaired as it was in the Roman time, was a possession above price.

Mention must be made of two venerable Boeotian cities, Chaeronea and Orchomenos. Being neighbours they cherished against each other an animosity during ages, to which many parallels can be found even in the Graeco-Roman world. Orchomenos made a great endeavour to ruin Chaeronea by preferring charges before the governor of Macedonia, but the great general Lucullus enforced justice. Chaeronea's story went back into prehistoric time. It was the proud possessor of Agamemnon's sceptre, originally wrought by Hephaistos for Zeus. The colossal lion placed over the ashes of those who fought by the city for the freedom of Hellas against

Macedon only perished during the war which emancipated the modern Greeks from the Turk. In the great battle fought at Chaeronea against Mithridates, Sulla had the help of soldiers from the town. But the commotions brought it low, and its great citizen Plutarch wrote of it as a small place which he did not desire to make smaller by leaving it. There seems to have been a recovery after his day. Municipal institutions were carefully kept up. The expression "most brilliant city" is applied to Chaeronea in a document of the third century. The phrase is conventional, but would hardly be employed by a ruined town. Much the same may be said of Orchomenos. It had many notable religious and secular customs of hoary antiquity, which were scrupulously observed.

Athens, rarely the friend of Boeotia, at first received Roman advances with enthusiasm. Later on, she was often at variance with Rome and with her own interests and repeatedly paid penalty, as when the greater part of the city's inhabitants perished after her wild plunge into the Mithridatic troubles. But the favour of Roman rulers always revisited her, and even at a late time she was endowed with large domains, especially in the islands. Yet the Athenian administration in the imperial age was never good. In spite of a revenue which must have been considerable, and of the presence of thousands of students and visitors from the whole ancient world, the city was often in financial straits. But whatever her faults, the name of Athens was splendid among Greeks. Philo said: "what the pupil is in the eye, and the understanding is in the soul, that is Athens in Greece."

As early as 228 B.C. the Athenians admitted Romans to the Eleusinian mysteries and bestowed on them equal rights of citizenship (*ἰσοπολιτεία*). A favourable treaty (*foedus aequum*) was concluded during the First Macedonian war. The killing of two Acarnanians charged with profaning the rites at Eleusis led up to the Second Macedonian conflict. After the battle of Pydna a temple was erected to the goddess Roma, first so honoured at Smyrna in 195 B.C. About the

same time Rome bestowed on Athens not only Haliartos, but also some islands formerly owned by her, Delos, Lemnos, Scyros and Imbros. The inhabitants of Delos were cruelly cast out. In 156 B.C. Athens made a piratical attack on Oropos, a town on the border of Boeotia and Attica. On a complaint being made to the Roman government the city of Sikyon was appointed to arbitrate in the matter, and a compensation of five hundred talents was awarded to Oropos. Hence came the celebrated embassy of the three philosophers Carneades, Diogenes and Critolaus to Rome in the following year. The fine was reduced to a hundred talents. But the subsequent behaviour of Athens to Oropos hurried on the catastrophe by which Corinth was effaced and the Achaean league dissolved. Oropos was taken into possession by Athens and retained during the imperial period. Yet that the town possessed some independence is shown by an extant decree of the senate passed during Sulla's dictatorship, concerning a dispute between the 'publicani' and the Oropians, as regarded lands belonging to the shrine of Amphiaraus there. The increased interference of Rome with Greece after the Corinthian war had for one consequence a change in the Athenian constitution in the direction of oligarchy. The Areopagus gained steadily in power and influence. The disastrous alliance with Mithridates was accompanied by a democratic revolution which brought to the front Aristion a demagogic philosopher, and Apellikon, the famous book-collector, also, it was said, a book-stealer. The war was as ruinous to Athens as to most of European Greece. Delos was laid waste. One is surprised to learn that Verres, a very few years later, found a considerable sum in gold in the Parthenon, which of course he appropriated. Sulla took care to reinstate the oligarchs and place them in a strong position. At this time the Athenians owed much to the intercession of a young Roman, T. Pomponius Atticus, the friend of Cicero, whose close connexion with Athens is indicated by his name. Many works of art and the library of Apellikon were removed by Sulla to Rome. The old official relations between

Rome and Athens were restored. Athenians fought for Pompey on the field of Pharsalia, and they defended their city with some bravery against an officer of Caesar. When they surrendered, Caesar granted them full pardon, saying to them: "how often shall the deeds of your fathers prove your salvation?" Either then or earlier Athens received from him gifts for her public buildings. Yet she remained anti-Caesarean, and when Brutus and Cassius came to the city they were hailed as the compeers of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, who slew the Athenian despot Hipparchus. Antony granted to the Athenians the possession of Aegina and Eretria in Euboea. He came to Athens with Cleopatra in 32 B.C. and the fickle citizens transferred to the Egyptian queen all the honours they had before heaped on the noble Octavia. Next year, after the victory of Actium, Octavian came and was initiated at Eleusis. When he rearranged the condition of Greece in 21 B.C. he took away Eretria and Aegina and stopped the flagrant sale of the Athenian citizenship. From this time onward Athens received a multitude of gifts and adornments from emperors, princes and wealthy men.

Near the end of the reign of Augustus a temple was erected at Athens in his honour and that of Roma, near the Parthenon. We also find a cult of the Roman 'Demos.' A curious incident is reported in connexion with a visit from Germanicus. His enemy Piso reviled him for showing favour to this "dirty commingling of all nations" which called itself the Athenian people. But the soil of Attica like that of Ireland assimilated all ethnic elements, and the new Athenians reproduced and exaggerated many characteristics of the old, just as the Normans in Ireland became "more Irish than the Irish." The fact was obvious to Plutarch, who knew the city well. Nero did not venture to set foot in Athens, fearing, it is said, that the Erinyes would torment him as they had tormented that other matricide Orestes. Domitian, who in a mad manner venerated the goddess Athena, was delighted to be elected chief archon. The visits of Hadrian were fruitful in results. He too was chief archon and underwent initiation

at Eleusis. He finished the Olympieion, said to have been begun by Peisistratos, a vast temple in honour of Zeus, of which a number of columns still stand. Connected with this was the institution of a great festival for the whole Greek race, to which was given the name 'Panhellenic,' a title we have already seen in use by the 'koinon' of the Roman province of Achaia. In 129 A.D. the temple was consecrated in the emperor's presence and the 'Panhellenia' were inaugurated. A colossal statue of Hadrian was dedicated in the temple by the Athenians and effigies of the emperor were presented by the different members of the new confederation. Among other boons were the gift of a building for a library, of which important remains survive, and the presentation to the city of the revenues of the island of Cephallenia. A great arch still exists with inscriptions in Greek verse, stating that on one side was the "city of Theseus" and on the other "the city of Hadrian." Henceforth Athens was to be a double foundation. This emperor was long remembered. In the third century games in honour of his favourite Antinous were still celebrated. To Marcus Aurelius was due the endowment of professorships in philosophy and rhetoric, which did much to preserve to Athens her supremacy as a place of study. After that time there were no more great imperial benefactions till Julian's day. The Gothic invasion compelled Athens, for the first time since Caesar's officer Fufius Calenus besieged the city, to look to her defences. The Gothic occupation was a sore trial. Julian, the general benefactor of Greece, did much for Athens. Municipal life lingered in the city long, but its late history lies beyond our scope.

Important in its influence on Greek politics was the great island of Euboea. Its fortress of Chalkis was one of the 'three fetters' of Greece in the Macedonian age. Often dismantled, its position gave it continually renewed importance, and it played a part in all wars down to the war of independence carried on by the Greeks against the Turks. In all commotions in which the Romans had a share, Euboea suffered. It was once a land of flourishing cities, but a

pitiable account is given of its state in the first century A.D. by the rhetor Dio Chrysostomos. He represents large sections of the island as untilled. Corn grew and cattle pastured inside the walls of old towns. The statues of the gods in a gymnasium would be hardly visible through the ripening crops, and sheep would be seen feeding in front of a Council hall. But there was recovery even here. Things were obviously better in the time of Pausanias than in that of Dio. Eretria was always of some consequence, even down into the Middle Ages. The assignment of its revenues to Athens has been mentioned. At the baths of Aedepsos there arose a flourishing town. Chalkis kept up, apparently, an active municipal life. An interesting passage in Plutarch's life of Flamininus gives details of a cult of the Roman general there which was scrupulously observed.

In the conflicts which plagued Greece Megara of necessity figured greatly, and for that reason its existence was precarious. It was one of the cities whose "corpses" Sulpicius surveyed on the journey described by him in a letter already quoted: the reference is to the savage treatment of Megara by Fufius Calenus the legate of Caesar, who sold all the citizens as slaves. But the city revived again to some extent. It was punctilious in the cult of the imperial family, and received benefits from a number of emperors, especially Hadrian, who is described in an inscription as "founder, lawgiver and nourisher."

The total destruction of old Corinth by Mummius in 146 B.C. when the Achaean league was extinguished, is one of the greatest of Roman crimes. Its regeneration by Caesar and Augustus as a Roman colony was a brilliant example of their imperial policy of developing provinces, instead of merely governing them. The new founder was Caesar, though the settlement was not completed at the time of his death. As was the case with Urso in Spain and with Carthage, the settlers were largely of the freedmen class, and manumitted slaves were eligible for office. Strabo narrates that the new colonists excavated the old site and left

no tomb unrifled; so that Rome was full of objects called 'necrocorinthian.' The city shot up into fame with remarkable rapidity. Despite the legal quality of Corinth as a Roman colony, it had a Greek colouring from the first. Many of the freedmen settlers were probably of Greek origin. Native Greeks also attached themselves to the city and great numbers of Jews and other Orientals came there, and used Greek as the most convenient tongue. Hence, as we learn from Dio Chrysostomos, Corinth had become completely Greek (ἀφελληνίσθη) even in the first century. From the first the care of the old Isthmian games which when old Corinth was swept away had been entrusted to Sikyon, was now transferred to the new city. This nominally Roman community adopted at once all the old Corinthian myths and used them for its coinage, which bore the image of 'Zeus god of liberty' (Eleutherios). Corinth from its favourable situation for commerce flourished long and survived manifold disasters from earthquake and barbarian invasion.

In the Peloponnese at least sixty towns maintained their corporate life during the imperial age. While a number of ancient cities decayed, there is much to show that the 'Roman peace' enabled many districts to enjoy an aftermath of the economic fortune which had distinguished them in the days of Greek independence. Only a few of the most prominent facts can be mentioned here. The conflicts which accompanied the history of the great league of Achaean cities, generally supporters of Macedon, had devastated large regions before the Romans came. The wars waged after the advent of the Roman power affected the Peloponnese in a far less degree than northern Greece. The revival therefore when settled quiet came was rapid and noteworthy. We will consider first the northern portions of the peninsula.

To the south of the Corinthian territory was Argolis, with its capital Argos. This venerable city certainly was brilliant among the towns of the Greek mainland during the imperial era. The Achaean league had striven to unite all the Peloponnese in a single federal body, and indeed Polybius

had boasted (vainly as we shall see) that the whole peninsula had been welded into one state (μία πόλις). Argos was the meeting place of an assembly which in a fashion represented the unity of all Greek cities within the bounds of Roman Achaia. The participants, as we have observed, took to themselves the name 'Panhellenes.' This gathering had the usual characteristics of a 'concilium provinciae' in the western, and of a 'koinon' in the eastern parts of the empire. Argos was also the most important member of the local sacral federation which maintained the festival and worship at Nemea. But Pausanias found the temple there in ruins. Eastward of Argos two places were conspicuous during the empire, Epidaurus and Troezen. The peninsula to which Argos was one gateway and Epidaurus another is rough and a pastoral rather than an agricultural region. Epidaurus possessed a large municipal estate, but its chief resource was found in the stream of visitors to the far famed temple of Asklêpios the god of healing. Troezen also had a considerable domain. There is proof that it flourished, along with minor places dependent on it, Methana, Calauria, the old centre of one of the earliest maritime federations, and Hermione. To the west of Corinth, the very ancient city of Sikyon, which escaped lightly from the destruction of the Achaean league, showed vigour until a great earthquake destroyed it, just before the time of Pausanias. But later on it must have recovered somewhat. It was an early home of the new Platonism. Near by the island of Aegina had a troubled career down into the imperial age, and remained depressed, though retaining, after Augustus released it from the control of Athens, its autonomy with what was called 'freedom.' The old Greek Achaia, a strip along the coast from the territory of Sikyon to cape Araxus, the north-western promontory of the Peloponnese, had a fair prosperity. One town, Pellênê, little known in the classical age, showed remarkable vigour. It was situated a little inland to the west of Sikyon, and possessed a sea-commerce as well as internal industries. Farther west on the coast was Aigion, the earliest

capital of the Achaean league. According to Pausanias, a gathering (*συνέδριον*) was held there in his time. It probably represented an early sacral union which expanded into the historic Achaean confederation. The excellent haven at Aigion preserved for it in the time of the empire a trade with foreign ports. Here in the temple of Asklêpios Pausanias entered upon a controversy (*ἀντιλογία*) with a Phoenician of Sidon, who held that the Phoenicians were better instructed in things divine than the Greeks.

Westward again on the coast lay Patrae, an old city which was an important member of the Achaean league. It was terribly reduced by the catastrophe of 146 B.C. though it was clearly a favoured city, since it had for a century afterwards the unusual privilege of coining silver as well as bronze. The position of the place made it a commercial centre, where many Romans were domiciled. Memmius, the disreputable politician to whom Lucretius dedicated his poem, became a citizen of Patrae when he was exiled from Rome. In the winter before the battle of Actium Antony had his head-quarters there. When peace was established Augustus re-founded Patrae on the same large scale after which Nikopolis was planned, but in this case the new foundation, like Corinth, was a Roman colony, with full privilege. Yet it had a Greek colouring from the first and in a short time was no more Roman than Corinth. Veterans of the Tenth and Twelfth Legions were among the settlers, while a compulsory 'synoikismos,' like that which was applied for the benefit of Nikopolis, brought in colonists not only from small places within the old territory of the city, but from decayed independent towns like Dyme and Pharai. The colony received splendid gifts. Its domain comprised almost all western Achaea from Aigion to cape Araxus, and a great stretch of land on the opposite Aetolian coast, and most of the district of the Ozolian Locrians, with the exception of the part attached to Amphissa. A fine harbour and splendid public buildings, with a great aqueduct, were constructed. Works by famous artists taken from the enforced colonists of Nikopolis were presented to the

town. The new city was 'free and immune.' It bloomed notably and became an industrial as well as a trading centre. When Strabo wrote, its population was already large. The official title was 'colonia Augusta Aroe Patrensis,' Aroe being the name of the old citadel of Patrae. The Hellenic character of the place is shown on the coins struck there, as in Corinth; in both places all the old myths were adopted by the colonists. When Nero 'freed' all Greece, Patrae celebrated the event on pieces which with Nero's effigy show the head of Zeus Eleutherios. Patrae also took the new title of 'Neroniana.' Like a multitude of other Greek towns it received real favours from Hadrian whom it celebrated on its coinage as 'Restitutor Achaiae.' Patrae has continued to be (relatively) a place of consequence to modern times.

The westernmost Achaean town, Dyme near Elis, had a chequered fate under Roman rule. It suffered like Aegina and other communities from Roman savagery during the First Macedonian war. It is said that all its inhabitants were sold into slavery. Yet it was quickly repeopled and it is not surprising that its sympathy was with Macedon against Flamininus. In the conflict with Antiochus Patrae, Aigion and Dyme fortunately stood by Rome. An inscription has preserved a curious insight into the politics of Dyme about 117 B.C. when a conflict in true Greek style was raging there between oligarchs and democrats. Probably punishment was then inflicted by Rome; for Pompey settled in the domain of Dyme, as though it were 'publicus ager,' some thousands of pirates, uprooted from their haunts on the coast of Cilicia. A letter of Cicero mentions that, being deprived of their lands after Caesar's victory over Pompey, these Dymaeans took to their old trade of piracy. Dyme was made a Roman colony at the time and farms were allotted to new colonists. It is surprising to find that a few years after the foundation of the colony, Dyme had to supply population to the later colony at Patrae. Possibly those who were transferred were the remnant of the pirates.

Arcadia was never distinguished by a love for urban life.

It was a land of the 'kômê' rather than the 'polis,' and the bonds which held the people together were sacral rather than political. The great scheme of Epameinondas, for unifying the Arcadian people, as Theseus had unified the population of Attica, was only partially successful. Megalopolis, in the south of the country, was suddenly created by 'synoikismos.' The city flourished to some extent, but the scale on which it was planned was too great for its actual population. And the more important older cities refused to place themselves in the position of the Attic 'demes'; they retained their full independence. Strabo pictured Megalopolis as a scene of ruin; but the recovery had been considerable by the time of the visit of Pausanias. Mantineia was dissolved into villages (kômai) by the Spartans in 385 B.C. and reconstituted with the aid of other Peloponnesian towns, after the victory of Epameinondas at Leuctra. If Mantineia was as desolate as Strabo declared it is not easy to comprehend how its warriors could have taken a distinguished part in the battle of Actium. On the eastern side of Arcadia, ancient Tegea, able of old for the most part, like Argos, to resist Spartan aggression, was a prosperous place in the earlier imperial centuries, ranking among Peloponnesian towns next after Sparta and Argos. In this direction Orchomenos also and Stymphalos exhibited vitality. In the north Kynaitha, not prominent in the classical age, was of some importance. In the south, excepting Megalopolis, communities were small and little frequented in the days of Pausanias. Here, in the circumstances of the time, great private estates were easily formed, a condition always inimical to the municipal principle. On the western border Phigaleia, some of whose relics have enriched the British Museum, maintained a dignified corporate existence. Between Tegea and Megalopolis was Pallantion, which Epameinondas made a dependency of the new capital. It was a mere village when the emperor Antoninus Pius raised it to the dignity of a city, doing homage to the legend which represented the Arcadian prince Evander as a settler on one of the hills of Rome, thereafter named Palatium from

his Arcadian home. An excellent example of the aid which etymology has rendered to mythology!

The territories on the western side of the Peloponnese, Elis, Triphylia and Messenia, were of no great account in the history of Greece under the Romans. In this region there was little urban development, though much of the land was fruitful. The city of Elis owed its importance to its relations with the cult at Olympia, which was renovated in the reign of Augustus, partly in consequence of a generous benefaction by Herod the Great. In Messenia, the capital Messênê, like Megalopolis, owed its origin to Epameinondas. It occupied a strong position on the side of mount Ithômê, and was the greatest place in the country, but a number of lesser towns, chiefly on the coast, seem to have carried on a comfortable existence.

By far the most prominent city of the Peloponnese in the Roman age was Sparta, which after the time of Alexander passed through the fires of democracy and of despotism. But on the whole her ancient institutions were maintained with obstinacy by her people and they enabled her to bear up and revive after the most crushing blows. She was strong enough to give endless trouble to the Achaean league, and not a little to the Romans in the time of Flamininus. Then the freedom of old Achaean commonwealths, subject to Sparta and inhabited by the 'Perioikoi,' was enforced against the last tyrant Nabis. A new league with the title 'Eleutherolacônes' was formed and included all the coast towns of Laconia, so that Sparta was cut off from the sea. The meeting place of the 'koinon' was at Taenarum. Only in the time of Augustus did Sparta regain a strip of seaboard, by the acquisition of Kardamylê. The towns of the 'Eleutherolacônes' were small, but enjoyed a moderate degree of prosperity. Sparta herself was nominally incorporated in the Achaean league, but her continual recalcitrancy was a chief cause of the destruction of that confederacy. When the end came the Spartans were in favour with Rome and received 'immunitas.' Their polity, while retaining its old social structure, was now in form a

democratic republic. The clinging to ancient practice is evidenced by the scourging to bloodshed of youths at the temple of Artemis Orthia, which continued to a late age. In the long peace which followed the extinction of Corinth, the strength of Sparta grew afresh. She took part in the later wars as ally of Mithridates and of Pompey and, more fortunately, of Octavian. Two thousand Lacedaemonians fought against Brutus and Cassius and perished in the first battle of Philippi. Before his defeat Brutus had promised his soldiers the plunder of Sparta and Thessalonika. Spartan forces fought on the side of Octavian at Actium. The city was rewarded with the presidency of the newly instituted Actian games. In 21 B.C. when Augustus visited Sparta and made himself popular by partaking in the 'syssitia,' he detached from Messenia, which had favoured Antony, some districts and gave them to the city. The feud between Messenia and Sparta which began in prehistoric times continued through the ages and was only brought to a conclusion by Tiberius and the Roman senate after a debate recorded by Tacitus, in which every historic reason was urged by the disputants for regulating territorial boundaries in their favour. Messenia won the day. In the early imperial time the richer Spartans were distinguished, as many were in the classical period, for luxury; but in this age the wealth came from commerce and industry rather than from land. This development led naturally to the infringement of ancient simplicity, and caused Apollonios of Tyana to give a solemn warning. Nero avoided Sparta because the laws of Lycurgus were not to his taste. The city took in the imperial age to literature; it possessed a splendid theatre and a hall of music (Odeum). It even produced devotees of philosophy, clever in the use of their tongues. But the fighting spirit did not completely die. Sparta supplied two detachments of volunteers to accompany Caracalla on his expedition against Parthia. One was named the 'Laconian,' the other the 'Pitanate' band (λόχος). The latter title was of great antiquity in the Spartan army. A recently discovered inscription of the time commemorates

"the most fortunate alliance" between the two powers, the Spartan and the Roman.

The district to which the designation 'European Greece' has been applied remained as dominantly Hellenic in its municipal institutions and in its culture as the Asiatic provinces of Rome. In both districts the Hellenisation of Romans is conspicuous, the Romanisation of Hellenes is but little seen, excepting in the adoption of the more material elements of Roman civilisation, the aqueduct, the elaborated 'thermae' and the like. Perhaps to a Greek of the pre-Roman age the greatest change would have been found in the acceptance of the gladiatorial exhibitions and the wild-beast hunts (*venationes*). These spread from the Roman colony at Corinth until they became almost universal, but were far more beloved in Asia Minor than in European Greece, where the feeling of the cultivated classes was more strongly opposed to the innovation than in other parts of the Greek world, though Lucian denounces the practices as well as Plutarch. The priests who celebrated the games at the annual meetings of the 'koina' often kept troops of gladiators. Galen, the great physician, was medical officer to the troop at Pergamum. The better Greek feeling recoiled especially from the gladiatorial exhibitions in the theatre of Dionysus at Athens.

# CHAPTER XIII

## INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION

THE great discoveries of inscriptions, especially in recent years, have enormously increased the information, scanty indeed, which could be obtained from all literary sources concerning the inner economy of the ancient cities. Changes were continually in progress during the ages, owing to the perpetually shifting circumstances of the world. It will be best first to give a general sketch of the management of the civic commonwealths during their period of prosperity, and afterwards to consider the causes and the incidents of their decay. No precise dividing line between the two eras can be drawn, since events did not move at the same pace all the empire over. But for practical purposes the reign of Alexander Severus, which began in the third decade of the third century, may be regarded as initiating the decline, though many approaching symptoms of it had manifested themselves earlier. For the moment these symptoms must be set aside, in order that later the story of the downfall may be made continuous and complete.

First the constitutions of the cities must be surveyed, and their public organisation in its various departments; then the different forms of municipal activity to which the organisation was directed. Herein we must keep constantly in mind the differences which existed between the Graecised East and the Romanised West. In municipal matters, as in all others under the imperial system, there was a gradual change from great diversity in the direction of uniformity. But to the end,

in the municipal field, striking divergences existed between the two sections of the empire. And in spite of all approximations within each sphere the possibility of marked peculiarities attaching to individual cities still remained. The municipalities were never completely flattened out and reduced to one pattern in any portion of the imperial dominions, even when the empire was in its dying agony. We have already had occasion to see that among the cities of Italy, although there was a more or less close approach to a common type of constitution, no absolute sameness was ever imposed by the central authority, and the same is true of all other regions of the Roman dominions. In the western provinces the similarity between the civic codes was from the first greater than in Italy. Most of the towns had no long civilised history such as sanctified local characteristics in the countries of older culture. And because the cities of the East had in many cases a venerable record of independence, it is natural that their singularities should have been manifold, as compared with those of the western cities in general.

As regards local citizenship, a great principle prevailed from one end of the Roman dominions to the other, that of the 'municipalis origo.' Every man bore about with him the stamp of the municipality in which he was born, or to which his ancestors had belonged. If he transferred his domicile to another town, he did not rid himself of his duties to his place of origin, while his position in his new abode was different in many respects from that of the natives. If he belonged to no regular municipality his 'origo' would be described with reference to some other unit of administration, such as a 'gens,' or a 'civitas' or a 'regio.' There was an old Roman maxim of state expressed most clearly by Cicero, that no one could belong to two commonwealths at the same time. In the sphere of local administration only this principle was maintained; from the point of view of the government, the general Roman citizenship and the local citizenship could be combined, but not two local citizenships. The freedom of cities, so often conferred on strangers in the Greek world, was as

a rule merely honorific and did not infringe the principle just stated, which was based on the idea that the ancient town was not merely a town but a state, so that it would be an absurdity for a man to be a member of two such communities. In the earlier time of Roman rule a Greek would even be sometimes a member of several local senates; but his place of origin mainly defined his duties and privileges. In early days when a Roman citizen was incorporated in the burgess body of a non-Roman city, his original citizenship was extinguished. This is the conception on which the 'right of exile' of the Roman Republic and early empire was founded. But the acquisition by a peregrin of Roman rights did not extinguish his local citizenship.

The possession of the local franchise depended on conditions which were everywhere much the same, inheritance, enrolment by resolution of the local authority, adoption by a citizen, manumission in the case of a slave, or an imperial grant. The ancient scheme of the city embodied the notion of a popular assembly of all the citizens, with rights which might vary largely between the limits of extreme democracy and extreme oligarchy. The commonest expression for this assembly is on the Roman side 'populus' and on the Greek 'ekklêsia' or 'demos.' The citizens were always grouped in sections. In the West the name given to these sections was commonly 'curia,' not only in Italy but in the provinces. The charter bestowed on the Latin city of Malaca in Spain about 81 A.D. prescribes this name for the divisions of the burgess body there. It existed also in the Roman colony of Berytus on the Syrian coast, founded by Augustus. But the land of which the 'curia' is distinctive is Africa. There it not only was an administrative unit, but was also important, as we shall find, in the social life of the towns. The 'curiae' often bore names derived from gods or emperors. An inscription of Lanuvium mentions a 'curia mulierum,' and at Naples there was a corporation of ladies presided over by a priestess, but it is doubtful whether these bodies had anything to do with the politics of those commonwealths. In some places

the organisation of the citizens was by 'tribus.' This is the designation adopted in the fundamental statute of Caesar's colony at Urso, the 'Colonia Iulia Genetiva'; and it is found at Lilybaeum in Sicily, after Augustus colonised the place. There are also occasional occurrences of the 'centuria.' These differences, however, were merely differences of name. The number of the sections was not always the same. It was frequently ten, the primitive number in the old Latin cities of Italy.

In the Greek communities the tribe (φυλή) was the usual unit. Old Ionian and Dorian towns clung with tenacity to traditional names of the tribal sections. In many a Doric city, to a late age, the ancient threefold partition into 'Hylleis,' 'Pamphyloi' and 'Dymanes' survived; and in Ionic commonwealths that into 'Geleontes,' 'Argadeis,' 'Aigikoreis,' 'Hoplêtes.' But cities often added new sections to those of ancient date, merely to do honour to potentates. The changes at Athens were particularly whimsical. The ten tribes of Kleisthenês were preserved, but in 307 B.C., when Dêmêtrios Poliorkêtês liberated the city, an eleventh tribe named after him was created, and a twelfth in honour of his father Antigonus. In the latter part of the third century B.C. a Ptolemy of Egypt received a like distinction. In 200 B.C. the eleventh and twelfth tribes were abolished, and an 'Attalid' section was devised, to flatter the king of Pergamum. Similar flattery was often addressed in the Hellenic cities to Roman imperial personages. Many peculiar names of tribal divisions are to be found in the Greek sphere; as 'phrêtriai' (brotherhoods) at Naples, 'ôbai' at Sparta, 'thousands' (chiliastyes) at Ephesus, and 'hundreds' (hekatostyes) at Byzantium. As a rule, throughout the ancient world, the sections of the citizens, by whatever name they might be called, had each a sort of separate corporate existence, with special officers, particularly for sacred purposes, and meetings, especially of a festal kind. The subdivisions of the burgess body did not in general depend on residence in portions of the city. Membership of a tribe seems to have been usually inherited. And one great

distinction between the Greek and the western popular assembly was that the tribe or other division of the citizens was the ultimate unit for voting in the western assemblies, while in the Hellenic voting was by heads.

Some form of senate was universal in the civic republics. In the West it as a rule followed closely the Italian pattern. The commonest designation for it in the earlier imperial time is 'ordo,' an abbreviation of 'ordo senatorius,' which in Rome had a wider meaning. Later on 'curia' became usual. The individual members were ordinarily called 'decuriones' or 'curiales.' But there was no general law relating to the use of these terms. The old phrase 'senatus' was not reserved for the Roman senate. It was applied to the local council in a number of cities. The combination 'senatus populusque' as a compendious expression to denote the whole local body politic, is not infrequent, especially in Italy; and 'senator' might be used of the municipal councillor outside Rome, though it was convenient in ordinary parlance to reserve this title for the members of the great council at the centre of the empire. The word 'conscriptus' was also in use both inside and outside of Italy. In the codes laid down for the government of the towns of Malaca and Salpensa, and also in the so-called 'lex Iulia municipalis,' the three expressions 'senator,' 'decurio' and 'conscriptus' are treated as equivalent and equally permissible. It is well known that 'conscriptus' was not in use at Rome excepting in the combination 'patres conscripti,' which embraced the whole senate. Once Cicero spoke of an individual as 'pater conscriptus' by way of jest, and Horace employs 'conscriptus' of a Roman senator. As has been shown before, the name 'decurio' had its origin in very ancient Roman and Latin usage.

On the Greek side of the empire 'Boulê' is the well-nigh universal expression for the council, with 'Bouleutae' for the members. But 'Synedrion' and 'Synedroi' occur occasionally, with other peculiar titles here and there. The Greeks denote the Roman senate by 'Synklêtos' (σύγκλητος) which is applied

also locally in a few scattered instances. It was natural that the common phrase 'Boulê' should be felt inconvenient if applied to the great governing body in the capital, but why 'Synklêtos' was chosen to denote it is far from clear. In some towns of Ionic origin, as in Massalia and Naukratis, the councillors are 'office-holders' (*τιμοῦχοι*). The Latin 'decurio' was sometimes transliterated into *δεκοριών*, and vice-versa 'buleuta' appears in inscriptions on the western side. In the Latin legal documents Latin terms are employed in speaking of municipalities all over the empire. The number of the members of the municipal senate varied within wide limits. In the towns which had not been founded or reorganised by Roman authority the number depended on tradition; in other cities upon the fundamental charter assigned with the sanction of the government. A hundred was a common number in Italy and in the West generally. We have seen that the emperor laid down fifty as a minimum when Tymandus in Pisidia received its municipal statutes. The ordinance drawn up by Pompey for the government of the Pontic and Bithynian cities mentioned a definite figure (*legitimum numerum* in a letter of Pliny to Trajan), and this could not be exceeded without imperial sanction, at the end of the first century. Generally speaking, the Greek senates, at least in the earlier part of the imperial age, were of greater compass than those in the western provinces. At Massalia, for example, there were six hundred members, at Tiberias, a creation of the Augustan age, as many, at Antioch in Syria double as many. The tendency was for these numbers to diminish, for reasons that will appear later. Bodies of men called 'Gerousia,' an ancient name in various places for the senate of a Greek commonwealth, existed side by side with the 'Boulê' in a great number of towns in the later age. The expression here indicates a kind of corporation, parallel to that of the young men (*νέοι*) found in many Greek municipalities. Primarily social in its purpose, this 'Gerousia' by virtue of its composition came to exercise some recognised influence in the affairs of the commonwealths.

The mode of appointment of the councillors varied. Direct election by the citizens with limited tenure was a Greek rather than a western fashion. Everywhere there was a tendency, under the pressure of Roman influence, to give past magistrates seats for life. Originally some limit of age existed generally as a condition of membership. The statute of Pompey for Bithynia fixed thirty years; the 'lex Malacitana' twenty-five. A property qualification, alien to the spirit of the early Roman Republic and to that of the Greek democracies, came to be generally enacted. At Comum, Caesar's colony, possessions to the value of a hundred thousand sesterces were demanded, being one-tenth of the sum needed at Rome, by the ordinance of Augustus. It will be remembered that in the Republican statute of Tarentum, wealth was indirectly secured by demanding that the councillor should live in a house which had a certain number of tiles on its roof. As time went on the property of the local councillor became more important and finally all important, his personality being of little consequence, by comparison, to the community. Then boys of any age, down to infancy, were admitted as full members of the councils. The disqualifications for membership were as a rule the same as those for holding magistracies, and ultimately spread from Rome all over the empire. Thus, among others, the actor, the gladiator and the bankrupt were excluded, also men condemned as criminals or in certain legal proceedings which disclosed fraud not punishable criminally; as in the action by a ward against a guardian, or by one partner against another. Free birth was always required, excepting in some colonies which owed their origin to Caesar, in Spain, Africa, and at Corinth. But Augustus did not follow the precedent, and a 'lex Visellia' of the reign of Tiberius seems to have made the obligation of free birth imperative, at least throughout the West.

A great feature of the local senate in the imperial age is the adoption of 'patrons,' wealthy or influential men who could directly or indirectly benefit the commonwealth. Their

names usually appeared at the head of the list of the councillors. A most interesting document is the senatorial register of the town of Canusium in southern Italy, drawn up in 223 A.D. There are thirty-nine 'patroni,' of whom thirty-one are Roman senators (*clarissimi*) and eight are Roman knights (*perfectissimi*). The 'patronus' was of course known in the Republican age, but was then of comparatively small importance. Then follow sixty-eight ex-magistrates and thirty-two members who had not held office. These are called 'pedani,' a variation on 'pedarii,' a term familiar in connexion with the senate at Rome. The idea, still widespread, that either at Rome or in any local senate, there were members who had not the right to open their mouths and were called 'pedarii' or 'pedani' because they could only use their feet when divisions were called, is absurd. At the bottom of the list of Canusium, following the hundred 'decuriones,' are the names of twenty-five 'praetextati,' sons of councillors who after an ancient Roman fashion were allowed to attend the meetings as onlookers. The councillor was compelled to reside within the town or close to it. In the code of Urso a domicile inside or within a thousand paces is required. In this connexion it should be observed that attendance in the local senates, as in that of Rome, was in theory compulsory. At Urso a senator who lived beyond the prescribed limits for five years lost his seat. All over the West life membership was the rule from the first, as in Rome. In many of the Greek cities there was annual election, but stress of circumstances finally made the western rule universal there also.

When we come to the scheme of magistracies within the municipalities, we find some striking contrasts between East and West. On the western side of the empire there was a fairly close approximation to uniformity, while on the eastern manifold diversities subsisted. For this the chief reason is the unwillingness of the government to interfere with the established traditions of the old cities. On this account, as was noted earlier, a good many abnormalities were allowed

to remain in Italy, whereas in the newly founded or re-constituted towns but few are discernible. Yet there is sufficient variation to show that no rigid arrangement was ever prescribed by legislation. The 'duoviri iure dicundo' (the commonest designation) correspond pretty closely with the Roman consuls as they were before the creation of the praetorship and as they to some extent again became in the earlier empire. There was outside Rome no such division between legal and general administration as prevailed at Rome during the later Republican age. The title 'praetor' for chief magistrate, the original Roman title, was used not only in many Italian cities, but also in Spain and Gaul. In some instances the officers were at first called 'praetores duoviri,' and 'praetores' was afterwards dropped. Next in rank came the aediles. In a few Italian towns, Arpinum, Fundi, Formiae and some others, there were no 'duoviri' and the aediles were the principal officers. At Arpinum they were three in number. Then there were the quaestors, with duties similar to those of the Roman quaestors. They were usually two, but larger bodies are found, as in Beneventum seven. Here and there no quaestors existed, the duties of the office being combined with those of the chief magistrates. At Ateste the quaestorship was the highest office. The principal functionaries were in some places more numerous than the usual pair. In Asisium they were six; in Mevania nine, in Anagnia twenty. Where commissions of this size existed, the minor offices were usually absent. In the western provinces irregularities of the kind were not frequent. At Aquincum on the Danube, a town which passed through the stage of the Latin franchise, a commission of ten governed, in Nemausus one of eleven. The curious constitution of the group of African towns of which Cirta was the chief has already been explained. Even in the newer cities the empire had no cast-iron policy in regard to local government. History, social conditions, traditions, prejudice even could be taken into account in the constitution of a new Roman or Latin or Hellenic municipality. The use of 'quattuorviri' and 'duoviri' to designate

the chief magistrates of western cities has already been discussed, when Italy was surveyed.

As regards magistracies in the Hellenic or Hellenised districts, the mention of a few of the most prominent characteristics must suffice. At the head were most commonly in the earlier age officers with the old title of 'archon.' But later on in most communities the 'stratêgos' came to the front, and as military duties became obsolete, he grew to be the chief civic functionary, a transformation somewhat similar to that which passed over the office of the 'praefectus praetorio' at Rome. The number of archons and 'stratêgoi' varied greatly. At Athens the old body of ten 'stratêgoi' was abolished about the time of Caesar and perhaps by his ordinance, and we find one officer with the name, who exercised more extensive powers than any other magistrate. Here it may be remarked that the principle of collegiality, so vital to the magistracies at Rome, was far more consistently applied in the western side of the empire than on the eastern. The possibility of the typical Greek despot was abolished by Rome; but the magistrate without a colleague, rarely found in the West, was not barred. A few Italian towns of old Latin origin retained their dictator. A certain concentration of authority is visible in the imperial history of a number of Greek towns, such as Byzantium and Ephesus. But no such approach to autocracy as has affected the mayors of towns in some modern countries was ever made.

Of very great importance in the Hellenic communities was the Clerk (grammateus), who has no counterpart in the West. He was recorder, keeper of archives, supervisor and often editor of public documents of all sorts, including resolutions of the senate and the assembly. He often acquired considerable authority. The 'town-clerk' of Ephesus who calmed the riot in the theatre when St Paul visited it, must have been an authoritative personage. In a great majority of the Hellenic cities the aedile had a parallel in the 'agoranomos.' The 'tamias' or treasurer, for reasons that cannot be detailed here, was not of such consequence as the western quaestor. Many

different designations are found for the chief city magistrates. One that is very common is 'demiourgos,' though sometimes this name denotes minor officials. Among the singular titles is that of 'patronomi' in the Spartan republic, where the old ephors remained, but were of inferior rank. It has already been remarked that officers connected with athletic training, bearing names such as 'gymnasiarchos,' or master of the training arena, were common in the Greek communities, rare in those of the West.

In the Roman Republican constitution, when the ordinary yearly sequence of magistrates was interrupted, an 'interrex' was nominated, practically by the Senate, to act as chief magistrate for five days. He then chose another, whose duty it was if he could to carry out elections. If he failed, he appointed another 'interrex' for five days, and so on. This practice was copied, not only in Italy, but elsewhere, as at Narbo and Nemausus in Gaul. And the 'interrex' does not entirely disappear till a late date. But usually two 'praefecti' were designated by the local senate to carry on the administration until regular officers had been elected at the proper time. This procedure seems to have been imposed by a 'lex Petronia,' mentioned in inscriptions, both in Italy and elsewhere in the West. It probably had no application to the East. The term 'praefectus' also applied to deputies who represented absent magistrates. At Rome the old 'praefectus urbi' (not the new imperial functionary of that name) took the place of the consuls and praetors during their obligatory absences from Rome, as at the time of the annual Latin 'feriae' on the Alban mount. In the law of Salpensa provision is made for this kind of 'praefectus.' The emperors often deigned to accept nomination to magistracies in the municipalities. When that took place, they either named a 'praefectus' as deputy or asked the local senate to make the appointment. This imperial representative seems to have acted as chief magistrate without a colleague. In the earlier imperial period members of the imperial family, other than the emperor, often conferred this distinction on the towns; but the practice

ceased after the reign of Tiberius. Some monarchs delighted in nomination to local offices. Of Hadrian his biographer says that in Etruria he figured as praetor and in "Latin towns" as dictator and aedile and duumvir. It is known that he similarly honoured a number of towns, among them his native place Italica in Spain, and Athens, where he was archon, and Anazarbus in Cilicia. In the code of Salpensa there is a clause referring to the prospect that Domitian may accept the office of 'duumvir.' In that case the 'praefectus,' his deputy, is to rank in all respects as duumvir. In the Republican time great men like Pompey condescended in the same manner. Cicero cast a gibe at L. Piso, the consul of 58 B.C., because he had been 'duumvir' in Caesar's newly founded colony of Capua "imaginis ornandae causa," that is to increase the honours which would be inscribed beneath his bust, to be added on his death to the family collection. But it was a common practice.

One Roman institution which ultimately took root all over the empire was that of the census, for which provision had to be made in the urban communities. From the time of the 'lex Iulia' of 90 B.C. onwards, and in some cases earlier, censors were appointed in the Italian towns, with duties like those of the Roman censors, or else ordinary officers were directed to exercise the functions. In some Italian commonwealths special magistrates called censors continued to be elected every five years down into the age of the empire. At Caere we even encounter a life censor (*censor perpetuus*). But over the western provinces in general the ordinary principal magistrates every five years received a special commission to carry out the business. A direction is given to that effect in the 'lex Iulia municipalis.' Hence in that particular year the 'duoviri' are designated 'duoviri quinquennales.' As it was deemed a special honour to hold office in the year of the census, the title 'quinquennalis' often stands by itself in the inscriptions. This designation even occurs on inscriptions and coins of the late Republican and Augustan periods. The censorial records were, in Italy at least, transmitted to the

capital, where a similar registration took place at the same time. Under the empire a general provincial census was established, first in the imperial provinces, and then in the senatorial. The relation of the imperial to the municipal registrations is a matter which lies beyond the scope of our survey. In considering the decay of the municipal system we shall have to notice the profound changes in the census in the towns, which came about from the interference of the central authority. In the Hellenic cities special officers for the census were common. We often encounter *τιμηταί*, whose name corresponds closely with 'censores'; also 'registrars of the citizens' (*πολιτόγραφοι*). The census determined the status of all members of the commonwealth, who would appear on the register of the council or the burgesses. Newly acquired privileges would be recorded; and privileges proved to be unjustified would cause the dropping of names from the registers. The only other circumstance affecting the magistracies that can be mentioned here is that new necessities led to the creation of new offices in course of time all the empire over. In the third and later centuries fresh titles are constantly to be encountered.

The relation of the different parts of the machine of government to each other is a matter of immense detail, and we can only deal with a few prominent matters. A most interesting question is that of the powers of the popular assemblies. It was once supposed that their activities ceased all through the empire or at least in the western provinces, when Tiberius terminated the electoral and legislative functions of the 'comitia' at Rome. The discovery of the statutes of the Latin towns Salpensa and Malaca in Spain, of the date of Domitian's reign, made this opinion impossible, and there is much other evidence to show its falsity. In these Spanish codes, as in that of Urso, there were elaborate provisions for the election of magistrates by the assembly of burgesses, and rules as to the succession in which magistracies might be held by the same person, and the necessary intervals, were laid down much as they existed in Rome. It is certain that the numerous

appeals scrawled on the walls of Pompeii, in favour of particular candidates for office, were not addressed, as was once thought, to the local council, but to the burgesses at large. Ultimately all elections fell into the hands of the municipal senates, which acquired the complete government of the towns, and became self-supplementing bodies. The change came about gradually and was carried through in different places at different times. It was not fully accomplished in the empire till the third century. The same may be said of the influence of the citizens on policy and administration. In the West from the first the assembly was subject to the control of the magistrates and its power was limited to saying 'yes' or 'no' to the propositions of officials, sanctioned of course by the senate, after Roman fashion. This process was gradually extended from the western to the eastern cities. We have many late references to meetings of the Greek 'ekklêsia' in which the initiative of the private citizen is still found. Plutarch indicates that on the mainland of Greece the ordinary burgess was free to speak in his time. Much of the business mentioned in the inscriptions, about which the assembly gave decisions, was of course formal and of little importance, and was such as would secure assent by acclamation; decrees for example in honour of a provincial governor. Senatorial decrees were often passed 'postulante populo,' but this did not necessarily imply a resolution of citizens in meeting assembled. References, however, to the 'votes of the people' (*suffragia populi*) in the second century must involve regularity and formality. Mentions of meetings of the Athenian 'ekklêsia' are pretty common. Marcus Aurelius dealt with its complaints against Roman officials. In his time, and even considerably later, resolutions of Greek assemblies in matters of expenditure are recorded. But the general drift of all business into the sole hands of the local council is unmistakable from the beginning of the empire. In the end the citizens ceased to have any influence on the composition of the council, and the council itself suffered a miserable subjection to the imperial power. We shall have

later to view the course by which this goal was reached. Local politics rarely appear either in literature or inscriptions, excepting when they lead to riot. Tacitus relates how in 60 A.D. the senate was beset by two embassies from Puteoli, one complaining of the violence of the multitude, the other of the "greed of the magistrates and all the leading men." A detachment of the praetorian guards had to be stationed in the town and punishments inflicted before peace was restored. The provincial governors had occasionally to deal with troubles of that kind.

We have been treating of the constitution of regularly organised cities, which were sharply distinguished from the non-urban units of local administration. These latter imitated not a little in their language about themselves the phrases which were in use in the city commonwealth. Thus the places called 'vici' or 'castella,' or 'pagi' often possessed a deliberative body which called itself an 'ordo.' But even voluntary associations (*collegia*) now and then sought to dignify themselves by the employment of the term, which sometimes included the whole of the members. The magistrates of the village or 'civitas' or 'gens' were not debarred by law from adopting the designations current in the regular city; but as a rule this was avoided. The relation of village-government to town-government is a matter of considerable obscurity, and varied greatly from place to place. The 'canabae' and the 'conventus civium Romanorum' which we encountered earlier, present many imitations of the urban administrations. Even associations of freedmen on imperial estates speak of their 'ordo' and their 'populus.'

After this sketch of the machinery of local government we must glance at the different branches of civic administration, to see how they were carried out. First, as to revenue. The ancient cities very rarely made levies on the citizens in any way resembling the taxation on which modern cities subsist. The primary resource lay in the landed or other property of the community. It has been shown that the 'territoria' of the cities differed enormously in extent and

value. In some instances the territories covered areas almost equal to those of some minor principalities of to-day. Here and there we have found towns which, for different reasons, had little or no land attached to them. Puteoli, for instance, had practically no domain till Vespasian attached to it a considerable section of southern Campania, which must have been withdrawn from other municipalities. The boundaries of the ancient municipal territories cannot often be ascertained with precision; but in Italy and in some other regions the early Christian dioceses corresponded closely with the estates of the ancient cities in which the bishops resided. Not unfrequently the towns held lands at a distance from their walls, just as London acquired in the reign of James I great estates in Ireland. The remarkable case of Capua, which for ages owned possessions in Crete, has already been mentioned. Cicero speaks of Atella in Campania as having revenue-producing property in Cisalpine Gaul, "on which all the fortunes of the municipality depend," and he says much the same of his own native Arpinum. In the Verrine speeches he talks of the flourishing town of Centuripae as possessing estates in almost every part of Sicily. Innumerable changes were brought about by the visitations of Roman favour or disfavour, by which not only the extent but the form of tenure of the 'territoria' was frequently altered. The known history of Athens, Sparta, Rhodes and a great number of other cities, presents vicissitudes in abundance. As late as the time of the Constans, Athens received the gift of several islands, on a petition addressed to the emperor by the rhetorician Proaeresius. Sparta was presented by Augustus with the island of Cythêra and great stretches of Messênia. As a rule, cities clung to their property with much tenacity, and occurrences like the sale of Delos by Athens were exceedingly rare. There was a tendency of course to break up the large municipal possessions by the creation of new municipalities within them, as we have repeatedly seen. The case of Massalia, after its opposition to Caesar, is one of the most striking. But some enormous territories held together for ages. The dominions

of Sinôpê stretched for at least eighty miles along the coast of the Black Sea. Those of Amaseia in Pontus extended for sixty or seventy miles from the walls in the northward direction alone. The property of the towns was frequently increased by private benefactions, of which numerous records have survived. Naturally this practice was accelerated when the law allowed cities to benefit directly by the provisions of testaments in the imperial time.

The guardianship of territorial boundaries was of course a matter of vast concern to the municipalities. The 'Roman peace' insured the settlement by arbitration of disputes which would have led, in earlier days, to war. Very many inscriptions relate to contentions of the kind. The great surveys initiated by Augustus made the settlement of quarrels comparatively easy. In Italy at least each town had a plan (*forma*) indicating the extent and subdivisions of the domain. Every colony possessed as an appendix to its charter a map of its lands (*aes*) of which a copy was kept in the archives at Rome. A 'lex Iulia' imposed heavy penalties for any tampering with this title-deed. Many ancient municipal boundary stones are still preserved. The pasture lands were of great importance to most communities, and citizens paid a fixed sum for their use. Subordinate places like 'castella' and 'pagi' often had definite portions assigned to them on payment. It might happen that one municipality purchased the right to use the lands of another.

Sums presented or devised to municipalities were generally invested in land, or sometimes a rent-charge was created, the land being left in the ownership of private persons. The enormous benefactions of Nerva, Trajan and other persons, imperial and private, for the rearing of free children of which we shall take account presently were secured in this manner, the administration being to a large extent an imperial concern, but in part entrusted to the officials of the towns. A famous letter of Pliny the younger describes measures which he took for the benefit of his natal town of Comum. He used the large sum which he gave in creating a rent-charge

on land, stating that he preferred this method, because lands which became the property of a community were apt to be neglected. Yet there is much to show that the receipts from estates held in full ownership were an important part of town revenues generally. We often hear also of funds derived from benefactions which were placed out at interest.

Many other kinds of property were in the possession of cities; but no large amount was received for the use of the great public buildings. Theatres, baths, gymnasia, palaestrae and such like places were either open without payment or the payment was trivial. In this direction much was done by generous donors. Inscriptions repeatedly record that benefactors relieved the townsmen for ever from payment for baths. One at Praeneste states that baths were thus freed not only for the citizens, but for the non-citizen residents, for strangers and visitors and even for slaves. In another instance wives and female slaves are among those admitted free. At Rome, as Horace mentions, the price of the bath was the 'quadrans,' one of the smallest coins. When Agrippa was aedile at Rome in 21 B.C. he abolished the charge for baths during his year of office. In his will he left property to Augustus, to be used for the maintenance of the baths which were named from him, without cost to the users. Shops by the market-places were often owned by the cities and rents exacted for them. An interesting inscription relates that the magistrates of Telesia had erected a wool-spinning factory, the rent of which was to provide every year for the burgesses a little feast on the birthday of Augustus. One of the very few charges which approximate to the style of a modern 'rate' in an English town occasionally occurs in connexion with the supply of water. There is a celebrated edict of Augustus regulating in every respect the rights of the town of Venafrum in the matter of their aqueduct, in which reference is made to charges for the water. Cicero paid a sum to the municipality of Tusculum for a supply taken from the 'Aqua Crabra,' which served not only that city, but numerous villas thereabouts. In his aedileship Agrippa relieved the owners of these villas

from the payment. It is remarkable that in the third century, perhaps earlier, the repair of aqueducts became the duty of the landowners through whose holdings they passed. Compensation by way of relief from some other burdens was given. Many inscriptions touch on the conditions for the enjoyment of the water-supply which not merely at Rome but in smaller cities was carried out almost in modern fashion. The arrangements at Pompeii are well known. Water was often stolen from the aqueducts, which were damaged by tapping. A statute of 9 B.C. imposes a penalty of a hundred thousand sesterces for such damage, and similar punishment was repeatedly exacted down to a late time.

In not a few cities the returns from fisheries in inland lakes were considerable. In the earlier days woods and mines were profitable, but the imperial government acquired nearly all these sources of revenue early in its history. Suetonius states that Tiberius took away from numerous communities as well as private persons "ancient immunities and rights of mining and of revenue" (*vectigalium*). Other resources once enjoyed by municipalities also tended to pass over to government. This was particularly the case with dues chargeable on commerce at the ports (*portoria*). In Italy and in Sicily these were in quite early times appropriated by Rome. But no general law of taxation applicable to all municipalities was ever enacted; so here and there we find customs dues in the hands of municipalities at a late date. For instance, in the fifth century the possession of dues was guaranteed to the Carian town of Mylasa, in respect of its port, apparently in confirmation of a decree of the late Republican age. It is possible that a good many cases of the kind existed, the records of which are lost. In all probability almost every town exacted duties on goods arriving by land, after the manner of the modern 'octroi.' Some elaborate tariffs have come down to us. The most interesting is that of the oriental city of Palmyra, established in 137 A.D., which was promulgated in two versions, one Greek and one Aramaic. It contains a number of curious arrangements. The unit

for the taxation of goods is sometimes the camel-load or the ass-load. The import and export of foodstuffs is free. The 'portoria,' whether imposed on maritime trade or land trade, were in ancient times payable both on exports and on imports. A similar tariff for the African town of Zarai of the year 200 A.D. has been preserved. Of course it cannot be supposed that under the imperial system full freedom in such matters was granted, as a rule. Tradition and ancient guaranteed rights, to which the Romans even in late imperial times paid a certain respect, account for many special privileges. But new regulations would be subject to revision by the provincial governors, with a possible appeal to the senate or the emperor. In passing, it may be observed that the right of collecting revenue was in many instances farmed out by the municipalities, as was the case with Roman revenues in the earlier days. The municipal 'publicani' have left many traces behind in inscriptions. The duty of making contracts would fall on the 'censors' or 'quinquennalicii' or other officers exercising equivalent powers. Neither at Rome nor in the towns generally was there a yearly 'budget.' Estimates of revenue and expenditure must have been very rough, as contracts of all sorts were made for five years, in general.

Fines for offences and for breaches of ordinances usually passed into the local exchequer. These occupy a most prominent position in the local codes, in which the number of the penalties and their magnitude are most remarkable. Breaches of official duty on the part of magistrates were heavily punishable. Thus in Salpensa the officer who did not within five days after election take the usual oath of obedience to the laws, was to pay ten thousand sesterces. Double this amount was fixed by the laws of Urso for the offence of a magistrate who proposed as 'patronus' of the colony any Roman senator who was an office-holder as well as a senator. Others than magistrates were also rendered liable to large exactions for breaches of public regulations. Thus the 'lex Iulia Municipalis' ordains that any one who distributes free corn to recipients whose names are not on the lists at Rome of those

entitled to receive corn on public account, shall forfeit fifty thousand sesterces. Less important fines for police and other minor offences were very numerous. Among the most curious are those for the violation of the laws and customs, religious and secular, which protected the places of burial and funerary monuments. Inscriptions which relate to this subject have been found in great numbers, mainly in Italy and the Greek East. It is singular that not only public authorities, but the private erectors of tombs could establish penalties recoverable by legal process, at the suit sometimes of a magistrate, sometimes of any one who chose to prosecute. Often a share of the fine was allotted to the successful prosecutor. The 'fiscus' was now and then the recipient, but usually the exchequer of the city or smaller local unit.

A very important fountain of revenue was the obligatory payment on accession to a magistracy or a seat in the council; the 'summa honoraria' mentioned in numerous inscriptions. Further, fixed fees were due as a rule on appointment to priesthoods, many of which went into the treasury of the city. Suetonius narrates that when the mad Caligula figured as a god with a special temple and image, the rich men bade against each other for the honour of succeeding to the office of priest; also that Claudius, the great butt of his nephew, had to pay eight million sesterces for the honour, and was reduced thereby to bankruptcy. Some of the normal exactions for priesthoods were high; at Calama in Africa we find six hundred thousand sesterces. The great extension of the imperial cult, especially in Africa, added largely to this class of public funds. Payment also had to be made for the honours of the village. An early example is connected with the 'pagi' into which the municipality of Capua was dissolved in the Republican age. The exaction of fees for civic dignities became almost universal in Africa and some other parts of the West, but in the East fewer instances occur. This is to be explained mainly by the existence in the Hellenic cities of the compulsory 'liturgy' (λειτουργία) by which the burden of some public services was by ancient custom thrown on the

wealthier persons in the community, apart from the holding of office. On the other hand the 'liturgy' may have had some influence in bringing about the establishment of the 'summa honoraria.' Thus usage became assimilated in East and West, particularly when the office of councillor came to be imposed on wealthy men without their consent. The sums payable were laid down in the constitutional codes of the cities. The amounts due on nomination as 'decurio' ranged up to a hundred thousand sesterces, payable at Massalia. Some interesting letters of Pliny and Trajan show that according to the great statute of Pompey, those placed on the roll of the senates in the Bithynian cities in the regular manner by censors were not called on to pay; but when the imperial permission had been obtained to elect supernumerary members, it became customary to charge either a thousand or two thousand sesterces; after which, payment was extended to all senators in a few of the communities by the Roman governor, the sum not being in all the same. Pliny asks whether there should be a general rule about such payments. Trajan refuses to lay down any regulation and asks Pliny to follow the practice usual in each commonwealth. It is abundantly evident that the amounts mentioned in statutes were merely *minima*, and that public opinion expected them to be largely exceeded by men of great means. Ambition and vanity would make pressure in most of such cases unnecessary. The certainty of dazzling rewards, in the shape of statues and other memorials of generosity, acted as a powerful stimulant. The effect of the Greek 'liturgy' on municipal finance will be better studied later, in another connexion. Both the Hellenic method and the Western method had the effect of tapping the wealth of the locality largely for the general benefit. We shall see presently that the amount of service demanded of the owners of property under compulsion, both by the state and by the municipality, progressively increased. It may be noted that in every town much work was performed by slaves of the community (*publici servi*), as was the case at Rome. The condition of these servants was in many ways vastly

better than that of the slaves in private ownership. Their tombstones show that they were sensitive about the title 'servus,' for it is almost always omitted from the inscriptions, 'publicus' alone being the description used. They were often manumitted. Varro informs us that they frequently took a name from that of the town. 'Publicius' is also a mark of descent from this class.

We now turn to expenditure. This was greatly helped out in the cities by innumerable voluntary gifts, applicable to the same objects as those on which the ordinary funds were expended. The extraordinary frequency of the inscriptions relating to such benefactions has already come within our view; and no further account can be taken of them in detail. First and foremost in the items of expenditure is that which bears upon public exhibitions, connected in one way or other with the cults of the gods. In the best days, all public spectacles and contests were in touch with religion. The theatre was a religious institution. Even a gladiatorial show was nominally a mark of respect paid to the partially divine dead. On this account the revenues of sacred colleges and temples, which were generally not under municipal control, supplied no small proportion of the money required. The priestly colleges at Rome held lands and investments of considerable extent. Sulla was able to levy on them a forced contribution of nine thousand pounds' weight of gold. We have had occasion to see that the temples of the eastern, and especially the Asiatic provinces were far better endowed than those of the western provinces. The lavishing of money on public amusements at Rome and Constantinople is a familiar fact. But, in proportion to resources, the extravagance seems to be quite as great in the provincial towns. Greek exhibitions, musical, literary and athletic, became common in the West, while gladiators and the wild beast hunt (*venatio*) penetrated to the East. The games of the circus are little heard of apart from Constantinople and Rome, excepting in the Spanish towns. Provision is made for them in the code laid down for the 'Colonia Iulia Genetiva.' A passage of

Dio Cassius seems to indicate that provincial cities were early forbidden to touch them, owing to the cost. The importance of public amusements in the life of the provinces is shown by the fullest evidence. The size of theatres and amphitheatres whose relics have survived is often astonishing. A theatre at the small town of Pompeii would seat twenty thousand spectators. It is clear that the appetite for spectacles drew a mass of visitors from neighbouring towns. It might have been expected that the extravagance of the cities would leave little room for the private speculator. But it is recorded that in the reign of Tiberius, a capitalist erected an amphitheatre at Fidenae, not far from Rome, which collapsed and killed twenty thousand or fifty thousand onlookers. The cost of institutions for the physical exercises of the citizens, the gymnasium and the palaestra, was great in the Hellenic cities, comparatively trifling in the West, where athletic exercises were regarded as evidences of effeminacy, and only fit for Greeks. Voluntary contributions were very frequent for purposes of the kind.

Every ancient city was ambitious that its public buildings, with costly artistic decorations, should rival those of other cities which came into comparison with it, and resources were not uncommonly strained in the competition. The remains on ancient sites impress this fact on the beholder's mind. Not only theatres and amphitheatres, but temples, aqueducts, baths, basilicas, market-halls, triumphal arches and other structures wear the appearance of being out of all proportion to the size and population of the city. In all towns much was due to private donors, and in a number of towns, especially the old Greek communities, a good deal was done by imperial benefactors like Trajan, Hadrian and others. These presents led to money being spent on commemorative statues and monuments and other signs of honour. Public benefactors sometimes refused these distinctions or paid for them out of their own pockets, as inscriptions show. Distinguished natives of a town, philosophers, sophists, actors, poets, musicians, athletes were often flattered in the same manner. Worst of

all was the eager bestowal of distinctions on the Roman governor, often in spite of his villainous administration.

Libraries were rarely supplied by the towns, though a certain number were established for public use by private citizens. The learned professions were encouraged more by relief from burdens which fell on the rest of the citizens than by direct subsidies. An exception must be made in the case of medical men. We have numerous references both in literature and in inscriptions to the practice of appointing doctors in towns who treated patients gratuitously. The custom existed quite early in the Greek commonwealths. In Herodotus and other writers these officers are called by the name δημόσιος simply, that is "public man." Strabo mentions them in the cities of Gaul, and they were found in all parts of the empire. The Greek phrase 'archiatros,' or 'chief physician,' was applied to them to mark them off from the less distinguished practitioners in the cities. Following the example of the favour shown by Augustus to his great medical attendant Musa, emperors bestowed imperial immunities on the profession generally, and the municipalities followed. So freely was the boon given not only to doctors, but to other professional men, that Antoninus Pius restricted the rights of the Asiatic cities in such matters, and no doubt his regulation was extended to the whole empire.

Education figured but little in the ordinary urban budget. In the Greek communities the physical training of youths was much regarded and probably cost a good deal of money. The Athenian organisation of 'ephebi' was imitated far and wide in the eastern parts of the Roman dominions. But of any direct provision for teaching we hear little. It seems to have been left almost entirely to private enterprise, but the towns could relieve the teachers to some extent by granting immunities. Yet in this respect the great men, sophists, rhetoricians, philosophers, and grammarians were far more favoured than those concerned with the instruction of children. In the West there are a certain number of mentions of municipally appointed teachers for pupils not ready to receive

advanced instruction. In a letter to Tacitus, Pliny mentions such preceptors as though they were common in Italy. But he has little good to say of them, and proposes to provide better instructors for his native town Comum, by gifts of his own. He gives his opinion that it was right for parents to pay part of the cost of education, as this made them more careful in the selection of teachers for their children. We have already seen that schools were provided for the families of free workers at the mines of Vipasca in Spain in the second century and that the teachers were exempt from exactions and compulsory public duties.

To what extent was the life of the freeborn poor rendered easier by the action of the municipalities? It is an interesting, but an obscure question. Precepts enjoining charity and philanthropy became very common in the literature of the empire and in the writings of philosophers. But of public organisation directed to these ends there was little. The principal alleviation of the poverty-stricken life is to be found in the care taken for the increasing and cheapening of the supplies of food in the towns. But outside Rome and Constantinople this purpose was furthered rather by indirect methods than by direct gratuitous distributions. It appears from the Digest that the tenants of municipal land were often required to deliver to the towns a certain amount of grain or oil at a low price, of which the poorer citizens got the benefit. Strabo speaks of the Rhodians as "careful of the populace, though their government is not democratic," and says that the rich provided there for the poor. There are traces of measures for cheapening food in many cities, especially in times of great scarcity, when exceptionally rich persons would also come to the rescue. Aediles and 'agoranomoi' were continually concerned to keep down the price of provisions in the markets, and to circumvent the speculator. In some places special officers existed who were entrusted with such duties. Fixing of prices was constantly attempted, but failed commonly in the towns as it failed in the empire generally when Diocletian made his heroic experiment of a table of prices to be enforced

throughout his dominions. In this connexion the peculiar imperial institution of the 'alimenta' deserves mention. The funds were not supplied by the municipalities, but the administration was in part entrusted to them. Nerva was the first who tried to check the fall in the birth-rate in Italy by providing money for the rearing of freeborn boys and girls. Trajan greatly extended the benefits and he was followed by Antoninus Pius and other emperors. But the endowments all dwindled and disappeared amid the troubles of the latter half of the third century. Private foundations of the same sort but not necessarily administered by the town authorities must have been numerous. One existed in the reign of Augustus at Atina in Campania. Others of later date are known, connected with Terracina and Florentia in Italy, with Hispalis in Spain and with Sicca Veneria in Africa, and there was probably one at Athens. Pliny gave half a million sesterces to Comum for the same purposes. The children who were beneficiaries were sometimes described collectively by a name drawn from the founders. Thus there were 'pueri Iuncini' at Hispalis, and 'puellae Faustinianae,' in memory of Faustina, wife of Antoninus Pius, who established the particular endowment. The tablets of Veleia, giving information about Trajan's generosity, have already come before us. They are in many respects of much interest apart from their principal object.

Public works, other than buildings and aqueducts, absorbed a great deal of revenue. In times of peace the old town fortifications fell into decay, and when trouble came they had to be repaired or rebuilt at much cost. When the civil wars arose in Italy many towns were obliged hastily to put themselves into a condition of defence. The same circumstance repeated itself from time to time all over the ancient world. When Severus fell unexpectedly on Italy he found the cities in no state to withstand him. And when the Marcomanni made their first attack on the Italian frontier, Aquileia had to be provided with defences. Then the barbarians were able to penetrate the interior of the country and the re-fortification

of the cities grew to be a serious matter; so too with the provinces. Imperial subventions in aid were apparently rare. In 358 Constantius appropriated one-fourth of the customs receipts at the African ports for the rebuilding of city walls. Emperors sometimes interfered to lay down a certain proportion of the town revenues to be expended for these purposes. The maintenance of roads, not only within but without the towns, called for much expenditure. The cost of the main routes, constructed in the first instance by the government and often repaired by it, was thrown more and more upon the commonwealths. In the flourishing period of municipal life splendid thoroughfares were often constructed within the towns. The marble-paved road flanked by a pillared portico which Herod the Great presented to the Syrian Antioch was famous. Drainage, especially for surface water, was often elaborate and expensive, and great care was taken of it in nearly all cities of importance. Of sewerage in the modern sense we hear but little, although sanitary arrangements of startling modernity are sometimes brought to light by explorers, as at Thamugadi. The public lighting of streets was but little regarded in the ancient cities. There was nothing of it in Rome itself. Antioch seems to have been unique in its illumination. Ammianus speaks of it as "a city where the brightness of the lights shining all through the night imitates the brilliance of day."

The care of the public safety in the provincial towns and in their neighbourhoods is a subject as obscure as it is in connexion with the capital itself. No portion of municipal administration is darker than the system of police. Special officers with police duties are found in many Graeco-Oriental cities with various names. In Alabanda, Tralles and some other places there were 'generals over the country' (*στρατηγοὶ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας*) who cared for the peace of the fields as well as the towns. A common title is 'keeper of the peace' (*εἰρηνάρχης*). Officers with this designation seem to have been in the early imperial time appointed in all the great cities of the province of Asia, the proconsul selecting them out of lists

proposed by the local senates. As they had under them men called 'pursuers' and 'cavalrymen' and 'club-bearers,' they must have ranged outside the cities. It is clear that in the great semi-military colonies planted in newly conquered districts the town authorities must have acted for the suppression of brigandage, but few records of any organisation are to be discovered. At Noviodunum in Gaul there was an officer for checking brigandage (*praefectus arcendis latrociniis*). In the law of Urso provision is made for raising a regular military force, under martial law, the 'duoviri' being commanders, with 'imperium,' a rare distinction for local magistrates. But, as is well known, the emperors were jealous of any such measures as a rule, and to raise a force without definite imperial sanction was a criminal offence. Indeed the empire was scandalously inefficient in the means taken or permitted for the suppression of crime. The military detachments along the main roads were insufficient, and violence and highway robbery were rampant in many districts. Readers of Apuleius are made familiar with the disturbed state of the country in northern Greece. Italy was little better off, and the same may be said of large tracts elsewhere. If the energies of the municipalities had been utilised, instead of being repressed, a great and beneficial change might have been brought about.

One great drain on the means of the cities has still to be brought into view. The cost of the innumerable embassies which they sent forth often for the most frivolous or worse than frivolous purposes, proved disastrous. Every event in the history of the imperial family was marked by a stream of envoys to Rome from the most distant towns of the empire. Representatives were often sent to eulogise the conduct of even the worst provincial governors. This lavishness was among the chief of the causes that invited interference on the part of the government, and helped to undermine local autonomy; and we shall on that account have to touch on the subject later.

# CHAPTER XIV

## THE PROCESS OF DECAY

THE story of the decline of the towns in the empire is closely bound up with the relations which subsisted between them and the government at Rome. We have seen that these took upon themselves many forms, according to the circumstances in which the first compacts with Rome were framed, or were later modified for better or worse. The general assumption was that each city remained a sovereign state excepting in so far as definite limits were set to its sovereignty by its contact with Rome. Only one limitation was universal, that which required the commonwealths to have no foreign policy other than that of Rome, and to keep the peace among themselves, on pain of the suzerain's displeasure. Stipulated service, especially in time of war, and regular tributary payments might exist, and yet the internal autonomy of a town might remain unimpaired. The 'free' city might or might not possess immunity from taxation, or exemption from military service, or from quartering of troops, or from the presence of a governor within its walls for purposes of legal jurisdiction. In these respects there is no unvarying type of 'free' city. But what the provincials, especially the Greeks, regarded as the vital element in 'freedom' was the right to govern the local polity by its own code of laws, and to be protected from arbitrary interference by officials. For a considerable period after the constitution of the empire the authorities paid homage to the semblance of sovereignty in the case of 'free' and 'federated' cities. It is recorded, for example, of Germanicus that when he entered

one of these towns, he was unaccompanied by the lictors who symbolised his authority as a magistrate. When he came within the territory of these cities he set foot on soil which was technically outside of the Roman dominions, as much as if it had been situated within a foreign state. Cicero speaks of the people of Tauromenium in Sicily as accustomed to live out of reach of wrongdoing by Roman magistrates, through the protection afforded them by their 'foedus.' Needless to say, theory and fact were frequently at discord, and more so in the Republican age than in that of the earlier empire. There are abundant examples to show that important persons, even without any public commission, dealt in a high-handed way with the provincials. There is, for example, a curious story of a Roman, C. Antonius, the uncle of Mark Antony, who had been driven into exile by legal sentence. He took up his abode in Kephallênia and dealt with it as if he were lord of the island. Strabo tells us that he was engaged in building a new city there when Caesar recalled him to Rome. When circumstances led the Roman government to grip the affairs of the commonwealths, it was done with some reluctance, not only in the earlier but in the later age. Trajan sent Pliny to Bithynia to correct disorders in civic administration, but his letters show constant deference to local law and custom, and his correspondence with Pliny indicates that in the province the sphere of local liberty was fairly large. The Roman colony of Apamea, for instance, pleaded that by ancient custom it had the privilege of regulating internal business by its own decisions, and that no proconsul had ever inspected its municipal accounts. This is the more noteworthy, because it was easier for the central power to meddle with a Roman, than with a 'free' or 'federated' city. The acceptance of the franchise naturally tended to diminish civic liberty. In Italy, before the Social War, the burgess communities, whether possessed of citizenship to the full, or of the limited form known as the 'passive franchise,' were far more under the jurisdiction of the central authorities than those which were Latin or peregrin in their status. In the

case of cities not recognised as 'free,' there might yet by compact and still more by recognised usage, be limits to Roman intervention, and there was often in practice no great subversion of the internal economy of towns in this class. As we have often seen, there was fortunately for a long time a great lack of logical consistency in the government of the Roman dominions. When the emperors pressed uniformity upon the imperial system, it rapidly went to pieces.

We have had before us many examples of sudden change in the legal and constitutional position of cities which either incurred the disfavour or earned the gratitude of the supreme power. We now have to trace a more subtle process whereby, little by little, local autonomy was infringed. After the accession of Diocletian the dominance of the state was intense, and local authorities became very largely the agents, or rather the slaves of autocracy. This end was reached partly by the issue at Rome of ordinances extending to all civic communities alike, and partly by special interferences with individual cities. The great general transformation began with Diocletian, and was the consequence in the main of finance and taxation. But before that, there was a gradual undermining of local freedom. The earliest effect however of the establishment of the imperial system was to enhance the value of local liberty. For the first time, potent machinery was provided for curbing the vagaries of provincial governors. But the very desire of the emperors to protect the commonwealths from wrong, and to guard them against the consequences of their own evil propensities, inevitably brought about the restriction of independence. This drift of affairs was strengthened by the frequent desire of communities in the early imperial period to be ruled by the emperor rather than by the senate. Thus in the second year of the reign of Tiberius, envoys despatched from Achaia and Macedonia, doubtless by the assemblies (Koina) of those provinces, demanded that they should be passed over from the supervision of the senate to that of the emperor. When Claudius surrendered them once more to the senate, the tradition of imperial watchfulness over

the senatorial provinces was well established and the former abuses were no longer possible. But the fateful impulse of the empire towards bureaucracy and autocracy finally brought upon the administrative stage a vast host of officials who rendered it far more difficult to shield the towns from outrage than it had been under the corrupted institutions of the Republic.

The letters of Cicero addressed to Atticus from Cilicia present a vivid picture of the contrast between theory and practice in provincial administration at the time. In one letter (VI, 1, 15) Cicero describes to his friend the edict which he had issued embodying the principles of his government. Incidentally he reveals how wide the range of official intervention had become. Even Q. Mucius Scaevola, the large-minded governor of the province of Asia at the beginning of the first century B.C., had regulated a number of matters which properly belonged to the sphere of the individual cities. Cicero says that "freedom" in the eyes of the Greeks largely meant the power to decide legal issues among themselves in accordance with "their own laws." This they thought equivalent to "autonomy." The writer suggests that Atticus will call the Greek civic judges "triflers" (*nugatores*). He answers ironically by supposing that "Turpio the cobbler" and "Vettius the broker" are impressive personages in the courts at Rome. The letter in question indicates that in Cilicia the governor supervised the public accounts of the communities and matters connected with municipal debt and expenditure. There was apparently no distinction in this respect between cities which were 'free' and those which were not. A wide difference therefore existed between Cilicia then and Bithynia as it was a century and a half later. Later, Cicero told Atticus that many commonwealths had been entirely relieved from indebtedness, and many had been partially relieved. All, he said, having acquired "autonomy" through the permission to enjoy their own courts, and their own codes "had come to life again" (*revixerunt*). The state of things which Cicero found in Cilicia was the outcome in part of the anarchic rule

of Roman governors and in part of unsound municipal administration, and with reform much of the need for supervision would die away. The practice of Cicero represents nearly that which became prevalent in the early empire. States like Sparta and Athens, with a brilliant history, although allowed the fullest measure of local independence, naturally regarded their 'freedom' as a mere name. But communities whose part in the world's story had been small looked upon the liberty then allowed by Rome as something real and precious.

It has been already said that a distinction may be drawn between Roman regulations of a general character which encroached upon local freedom, and those which affected individual towns. Only a few particulars, relating to different departments of municipal government, can be adduced. These will be drawn mainly from the period earlier than Diocletian. A general description of the city of the fourth and later centuries will then be given.

We will first consider the Roman dealings with the privilege of issuing coins, universally regarded in ancient days as one of the chief marks of communal independence. It will be remembered that in 268 B.C. the allied cities of Italy, by what arrangement is unknown, parted in general with their right to emit silver pieces. But there was a curious exception, that of the confederacy of Bruttian towns. When these threw in their lot with Hannibal they lost of course all privileges. The coinage of bronze lingered on in the peninsula till the great enfranchisement which ensued on the Social War. It was terminated by a 'lex Plautia Papiria' of 89 B.C. But here again one community was excepted, for what reasons we cannot tell. The coinage of Paestum lasted on to the reign of Tiberius. The pieces show that the right rested on a resolution of the senate. Outside the boundaries of Italy the lot of the commonwealths affected their mintage in very irregular degrees, and the details are complicated. The treatment applied to the western and the eastern sections of the empire was different. In the West the concentration of coinage in the hands of the central authority came about much

earlier than in the East. Augustus permitted Latin and Roman towns in Sicily, Gaul, Spain and Africa to maintain a currency of their own in bronze. Generally speaking this concession was cancelled by Tiberius. Local issues in the West, which survived to the reign of Claudius, were directed by imperial rather than civic agency. There is again one isolated exemption. In the extreme west of Mauretania the burgess colony of Babba minted its own coins to the age of Galba. The pieces make no reference to imperial permission, but were issued 'by decree of the decurions.'

On the eastern side of the empire, coinage in bronze was permitted to a great multitude of cities large and small, including those of Roman foundation, like Corinth and Patrae. This was undoubtedly done out of consideration for the sentiment of the Greeks. They were thus able to keep before their eyes in daily life all the emblems and legends which belonged to each city and were prized. Down to the time of Diocletian there was no bronze currency in Hellenic countries other than that of the cities. Finds of Roman bronze in the East of earlier date are almost unknown. Most local pieces bore the image of the emperor or some person of his family. But this was not exacted by law, and it was often omitted. The coins of the cities of the province of Asia are distinguished by the regular omission, and by the continual allusion to the 'sacred senate' (*ἱερὰ σύγκλητος*). The silver coinage, even when connected with particular cities, was for the most part under imperial supervision. The striking of the old-established coin, the 'cistophorus,' in the province of Asia and in some other eastern districts, was not perhaps specially municipal. The town names were often omitted and inscriptions were sometimes in Latin. And at Alexandria, where there was no communal government till the third century, silver was issued to supply the needs of Egypt. But again we find no completely consistent policy. Large pieces of silver were struck by the cities of Amisus in Pontus and Tarsus in Cilicia in the reigns of Hadrian and Pius.

An interesting feature of the eastern currencies is the enormous frequency of pieces commemorating alliances between the different towns. The number of places thus mentioned on the coins of Ephesus, Pergamum and others of the larger cities, is considerable. In some instances the alliances recorded were of ancient date and only retained an antiquarian interest. But new compacts between cities continued to be concluded to a late age. Sometimes they indicate an exchange of privileges between the inhabitants of the places concerned. In many cases there seems to be a mere traffic in compliments, and a parading of the ghost of departed independence. Certain of the 'alliance' coins refer to agreements for the common celebration of games. Those which mention a 'concord' (homonoia) between the cities appear at times to have celebrated the conclusion of disputes about boundaries or other matters. Examples of late treaties are known in which ancient forms were copied to such an extent as to bind the contracting parties to render aid in the prosecution of impossible wars. Between Greek cities jealousies often burned fiercely for centuries. When they chanced to be extinguished, it was natural to signalise the event by the striking of a coin. The age of Gallienus and Aurelian saw the abolition of all coinage which was not distinctly imperial. The only exceptions are to be found in remote places which were on the fringe of the empire and had but a loose connexion with it.

The end of the first imperial century brought with it a movement on the part of the government to supervise the finances of the towns inside of Italy as well as without, and financial authority notoriously cuts deep into administration. At the same time began the practice of sending imperial commissioners into the eastern senatorial provinces, sometimes to reform the administration of a whole province, as in the case of Pliny in Bithynia, sometimes to deal merely with the 'free' cities within a particular district, especially in regard to their finances. The trouble of municipal indebtedness had been immense in the late Republican age, and the

empire could not permit the evil to continue. Provincial governors had often acted as the agents of Roman usurers, who held the municipalities within their net. The multiplied disasters of the period from the great Mithridatic War to the battle of Actium plunged many cities into slavery to the lenders of money, often required to meet the enormous exactions of the Romans themselves. Literature supplies numerous illustrations of the misery which was due to this cause. Cicero's friend Atticus held Sikyon in such bondage that the city was driven to sell its famed works of art; a sign in any Greek community of extreme desperation. The letters of Cicero gave an account of the dealings of Marcus Brutus with Crete. This champion of liberty was a cruel and exorbitant usurer, not averse from employing the machinery of government for the purposes of his business. Senators were often clothed with the dignity of ambassadors, in order the better to enforce their demands on the provincials. Even the aid of the comitia was sometimes invoked. Piso, the wicked governor of Macedonia, pilloried by Cicero, was invested with control of the free cities there by an enactment of Clodius, and his rule was extended over the free land of Achaia. Some of the communities in Greece, among them Sikyon, bribed him in order to escape payment of their debts. This happened at a time when Caesar was supposed to be all powerful, and the year after he had passed a law especially intended to protect the commonwealths against the rapacity of governors. Roughly speaking, the empire put an end to these misdeeds. The supervision of the Roman and non-free communities in the provinces prevented scandals there on a large scale. But it was inevitable that all communities alike should be protected against financial disorder. It will be remembered that in the ancient municipalities, debt was regarded as a passing and evil incident, not as a necessary condition of existence.

The age of Trajan marks an important epoch in the history of the towns of the empire. A great step was taken towards the assimilation of the government of Italy to that of

the provinces. Officers appear connected with the towns who are nominated by the emperor and have the title 'guardian of the commonwealth' (*curator reipublicae*) or 'guardian of the municipality' (*c. municipii*) or in Greek cities 'auditor' (λογιστής). These officials were chosen as a rule from the senatorial or equestrian body, and were generally not in any way connected with the towns which they were sent to supervise. Sometimes a 'curator' acted for one city only, sometimes for a group of cities. His duties were primarily but not solely financial. During the second century the 'curator' became almost universal. In the course of the third a remarkable change passed over him. From being a specially commissioned imperial agent, he was turned into a regular magistrate of the community, chosen out of the council, at first by the emperor, but afterwards by the local senate, and taking precedence of the other magistrates, a kind of mayor in fact. In the list of the senate of Thamugadi his name stands at the head. A little later, as we shall presently see, he was superseded by an official of fresh creation, the 'defensor plebis' or 'civitatis.'

Trajan was also responsible for the other institution which deeply affected the municipalities, particularly in the East. A friend of Pliny the younger, Sex. Quinctilius Valerius Maximus, was "sent to Achaia to put in order the condition of the free communities" and in this province there was a succession of such officials. Arrian in his *Discourses of Epictetus* calls him "reformer of the free cities" (διορθωτὴς τῶν ἐλευθέρων πόλεων), and the ordinary Latin title came to be 'corrector.' The celebrated Herôdês Atticus was entrusted with the improvement of the free commonwealths in the province of Asia. Pliny's duties in Bithynia only differed in that they extended over the whole province, and not over the 'free' cities alone. Gradually the 'corrector' came to be to all intents and purposes a provincial governor. We find him in command of sections of Italy from the early third century onwards. The new provincial system of Diocletian practically brought about his disappearance.

These changes were prompted by a desire for order and good government, but they brought with them the mischiefs that attend on centralisation. The new officers were not supposed to change the constitution of the towns, but to see that the charters were honestly administered. Yet there was a continual diminution of local initiative and responsibility. We know that the mere existence of the emperor had a powerful effect in inducing men, both at Rome and elsewhere, to part with their liberties. What seem to us usurpations on his part were often extensions of his authority which were forced upon him by those who were concerned. The monarch's power was so little defined that hardly any action which he might take upon invitation could be pronounced unconstitutional. As he was the universal arbitrator and interpreter and the ultimate creator of law, there was a common desire to get from him a pronouncement in all exciting local disputes. In a famous passage Plutarch rebukes his fellow Greeks for their readiness to invoke the imperial power, which forced the Romans into meddling that they would fain have avoided. But the whole mass of evidence drawn from inscriptions, literature, and the remains of imperial rescripts touching the cities shows the reluctance of the earlier emperors to interfere with long-established custom, or to touch vital elements in the municipal codes. As was the case during the Republican age, fundamental changes were only introduced on critical occasions. Some interesting records of the date of Caesar have come to light, which indicate that in three towns of the province of Asia, Miletus, Pergamum and Aegae, the local ekklêsia had been suppressed and was then restored in answer to a petition. The turbulent Greek democratic assemblies were suspect to the Romans and disorder sometimes gave them the opportunity of curbing them. The town-clerk of Ephesus was wise in reminding the citizens who made uproar against St Paul, that they were in danger of being called in question for the riot. The reverence shown by the Roman government for long-established practice is well shown in the numerous inscriptions which relate to the settlement of quarrels

about boundaries. These were often decided after exhaustive inquiry going back to a remote past. Very recently in Macedonia a decision was discovered which was based on proof from the time of king Amyntas II, the grandfather of Alexander the Great.

The reference already made to Cicero's government of Cilicia showed the importance which was attributed by the Greeks to the deciding of legal cases in their own courts by their own laws. To trace the course by which the higher jurisdiction passed ultimately into the hands of imperial officials, leaving to the towns only minor civil contentions and matters of police is, from lack of detailed evidence, a complicated task. Only a few leading topics can be touched upon here. As regards the substance of municipal law, absolute uniformity was never reached, as has been already mentioned. But from a variety of causes, of which the most important was the spread of the Roman franchise, there was in the end something like an approximation to common principles and practice. Yet numerous passages in the Roman law books which allude to the 'lex municipalis' of individual cities, show the regard which was maintained for local usage, even in the later period of the empire. As in early Republican Italy, so in the Roman dominions at large, the reception of Roman law was far more voluntary than enforced. The government never attempted to legislate for the Italian allied cities until after the Hannibalic war. In 193 B.C. a 'lex Sempronia' was passed which required that questions of debt in which Romans and Italians were concerned should be decided in accordance with Roman, and not local law. The measure was intended to checkmate usurers, who circumvented statutes against usury by employing Italian agents as a screen. We hear nothing of the consent of the allied towns having been asked for this alteration. In 111 B.C. a sumptuary law previously passed for the Roman burgess body was extended in its operation to the whole of Italy. The statutes and ordinances enacted by the central authority which were applicable to the whole empire were but few in all, before the

age of autocracy. We may take as an example Hadrian's rescript ordering that in no city should burial be allowed within the city limits, a rule early established in Rome and in Italy generally. The prohibition was embodied in the code of Caesar's colony of Urso, and most likely was to be found in western codes generally. An interesting general regulation was established by the Senatus-consultum Hosidianum of the year 56 A.D., which checked the destruction of buildings in the municipalities without provision being made for their reconstruction. In the fundamental law of Tarentum there is a provision that no structure is to be pulled down excepting for the purpose of replacing it by a better, without the permission of the Roman senate, and if this rule is violated, any one may sue the offender for the value of the building, which will be forfeited to the municipality. A very similar provision is incorporated in the code of Malaca. The overcrowding of population in dwellings was evidently a matter of some concern even in ancient cities.

A singular irregularity in the municipal law received the sanction of Hadrian. The natural rule for determining a man's 'origo' was to assume that it was inherited from his father. But a few places were allowed to hold to duty as burgesses men whose mothers had been born within the local territory. This is a testimony to the value attributed to local privilege, in face of administrative inconvenience, and at some cost to the cities which followed the prevalent rule. An edict of Tiberius Iulius Alexander, a governor of Egypt in the first century, abolished execution for debt against the debtor's person. But Egypt was, in the imperial system, a land apart. It may be observed that an answer of the emperor to a municipal problem propounded to him by a single commonwealth was apt to be taken as a pattern for deciding the same question if it arose elsewhere. After the reorganisation begun by Diocletian general ordinances issued from the centre were of course multiplied.

A question of some interest, but of much obscurity is this, how far the cities of different classes were permitted to make

changes in their codes, with or without the authorisation of the government? The copy which we possess of the law of Urso is in part later than Caesar's time, and embodies some alterations in the original constitution. One of the very few direct evidences touching this subject is found in an inscription of the city of Mylasa in Caria of the age of Septimius Severus. It records an enactment by the senate and the commons of the town (*βουλὴ καὶ δῆμος*) whereby extensive changes were made in the criminal law. There is no indication that imperial approval was obtained. The probability is that when innovations were generally acceptable to the citizens and contained nothing offensive to the imperial administration, they would pass without intervention. But when there was excitement an appeal to authority would be certain. It is known that the creation of new local imposts was often, perhaps always, subject to the emperor's approval. It does not seem likely that in this respect there was any great difference between towns that were 'free' and those that were not. But the exercise of authority by the emperor or his representative would be more difficult and rarer when towns had long-standing rights of self-government embodied in treaties, or in other documented recognitions. It has been already observed that the measure of Caracalla which made all municipalities Roman, did not render Roman law absolutely prevalent everywhere in all its details. Each community still retained its 'lex municipalis' which might embody local usage too deeply rooted for the government to care to change it. In the East oriental elements in the social structure which Greek civilisation had not been able to abolish might still be preserved. Beyond the second century of the empire many divergences between municipal law and Roman law are known to have continued; for example, the marriage of children of the same father by different wives was still legal at Athens. The general change effected by the measure of Caracalla must have been far from easy to carry out in the separate towns. The Christian writer, Gregorius Thaumaturgus, about the middle of the third century, praises the Roman laws "by

which the affairs of all men under Roman sway are now regulated," as embodying in a high degree the Greek spirit (that is the spirit of civilisation) and then complains that the study of these laws is very difficult for him owing to their language. In the middle of the fifth century Theodoret wrote of the universality of the Roman law, which had prevailed over that of Athens and Sparta. But before the age of codification it must have been a severe task in remote parts of the empire for local judges, who were not entirely deprived of jurisdiction, to ascertain what Roman law was, and even the imperial judges were not bound to administer it in all its details in every district, so that sweeping statements like that of Theodoret are subject to deduction.

The administration of the law in the cities came ultimately under the domination of imperial authority, but the stages by which the end was reached are as hard to discern as those which led to an assimilation of the local to general code. The abominable enactment of Clodius giving Piso, consul in 58 B.C., the right to hold court in the 'free' cities of Macedonia and Achaia, was unique. The powers of governors grew by gradual accumulation of precedents. It is best to consider civil law and criminal law apart. In speaking of the unification of Italy which was accomplished by the Republic we had occasion to note the effect of the extension of the Roman franchise. The restriction of freedom in jurisdiction was of old date in the Roman burgess cities and in those which possessed only the 'passive' franchise. The entry of the Latin and allied cities of Italy into the Roman polity involved a diminution of their liberty and an enhancement of freedom in the burgess cities. When all civic communities in the peninsula received the Roman status, there had to be a separation between civil cases which could be tried out in the locality and those that were reserved for the decision of the Roman courts. The value of the matter in dispute determined the dividing line, but the sum was not the same in every city. The two known examples fix ten thousand and fifteen thousand sesterces respectively. But it

is fairly clear that suits in which higher amounts were at stake could be judged by the municipal magistrates if the litigants agreed. From the 'Digest' it appears that this rule was later regarded as applicable to all commonwealths alike. And it was always possible for litigants to avoid the courts by resort to private arbitration, which was much used in ancient days. It appears also that in Italy the Roman praetor would sometimes in special cases exempt the local court from the ordinary rules. Herein once more the Roman aversion to absolutely logical regulations in matters of government is exhibited.

Roman towns in the provinces must have been treated like those in Italy. The more important cases would come before the governor when he made his circuit. Records, however, present few details. Where Romans were concerned in litigation with non-Romans the great 'lex Rupilia' by which Sicily was governed laid down that the juries should be of the nationality of the aggrieved party. Doubtless many varying regulations were adopted by compact between Rome and separate communities, or were gradually created by usage and tradition. When Cicero was governor of Cilicia he had to send a special officer to Cyprus, a part of his province, because the Cypriotes could not be summoned (*evocari*) out of the island for the decision of legal disputes. Some agreements between Rome and cities are known in which it is provided that suits shall not be removed to the capital for trial. Romans resident in 'free' cities must often have been quite ready to submit their quarrels to the non-Roman tribunals, not merely burgesses whose home was in the locality and who were very often connected with it by long descent, but natives of Italy who had settled there. In many cases, in the earlier period of Roman rule, to do so would be obligatory. It is known that the governor in the province of Asia did not hold assize (*conventus*) in 'free' cities, with the certain exception of Alabanda, and the possible exception of Smyrna. In his speech in defence of Flaccus Cicero tells of a Roman merchant who had lived for thirty years in a 'free'

city, when he might have settled in a place where the Roman magistrate had his tribunal.

Legal disputes between natives of two different peregrin communities would present problems which the Roman governor would have to solve, due regard being had to existing compacts and usages. The 'lex Rupilia' dealt with these difficulties in Sicily, and it cannot be doubted that provision was made for them in the charter of Bithynia, the 'lex Pompeia.' Where there was no one statute for a province, the discretion of the proconsul or propraetor would be larger. And the more general the Roman franchise became in a province, the more extended would be the scope of the edict which the governor promulgated, and also the tendency to assimilate the different provincial edicts would grow in strength. So that although in all probability no one edict for all provinces was ever constructed, there came to be so much of uniformity that it was possible to speak, without great inexactness, of a provincial edict. The principles of the Roman praetor urbanus and of the praetor peregrinus would be as closely followed as the local circumstances permitted, and each edict would contain much administrative as well as legal matter.

In the time of the early empire, careful attention was paid to the carrying out of law in the provinces. In the senatorial division the quaestor, usually a young and inexperienced man, had been the chief legal assistant of the magistrate. Now he was displaced in this function, in several imperial provinces, as in Britain and the nearer Spain, by senators, specially attached for the purpose to the governor's staff. Everywhere the influence of the empire was used to suppress the greater scandals of the Republican age. It was no longer possible, as in the Ciceronian period, for the senate to favour one of its members by ordering a provincial governor to recognise in his court as valid a contract which he would otherwise have treated as invalid. Cicero declared that, on another occasion, the senate had adopted the morality of pirates, and minor powers were naturally not less but more unscrupulous. In Italy the

provincial rule, whereby the governor went on circuit to deal out justice, was ultimately imitated. Hadrian appointed four ex-consuls to exercise the higher jurisdiction in four sections of the country. The institution was abolished and later restored by Marcus Aurelius and Verus, who created officers called 'iuridici.' The object was to relieve the courts in the capital and to afford convenience to litigants. The praetors were restricted to cases arising at Rome or within a hundred miles.

Records which might enable us to judge of municipal control over crime in the period of the Republic and early empire are almost entirely wanting. Theoretically each city which was in possession of its 'own laws and customs' as the phrase went, had the right to try all criminals whether its own citizens or aliens (including Romans) in its own courts for crimes committed within its own boundaries. Among the many shades and modifications of local liberty there would be some which explicitly limited this right of jurisdiction, though the towns might still be classed as 'free.' In the case of unfree towns the extent of interference by Roman authority would vary greatly. It must have early become difficult for non-Roman cities to judge at discretion the criminal acts of Romans. By the time of St Paul, the burgess could claim to be remitted to Rome for trial. And in the age of Ulpian a death sentence passed by a local magistrate upon a slave required confirmation. The progress towards this goal was irregular and unequal in different parts of the empire. Of precise evidence very little has survived. Even in Italy the history of criminal jurisdiction before the third century A.D. is obscure. Reference has already been made to a surprising clause in the statute of Sulla by which the court for the trial of murder was organised at Rome. It seems to limit the function of the court to cases arising in Rome itself or within a space of a thousand paces beyond. The natural inference is that the Italian towns were left in the possession of full criminal jurisdiction, even at a time when the more important civil suits were removed for trial to the capital. As this

conclusion is somewhat startling, it has been supposed that other clauses of this enactment of Sulla, and possibly some of the rest of his criminal statutes, limited the powers of the magistrates in the municipalities and confined them to the disposal of the less serious cases, and to preparatory inquiries with regard to the more serious, in view of subsequent trial at Rome. The subject remains encumbered with difficulty. That criminal courts were universal in the municipalities is clear from the 'lex Iulia municipalis' and the law of Malaca and from other sources; but the name given to them, 'iudicium publicum,' would be quite applicable to courts of restricted power. That for a considerable time municipal courts in Italy pronounced sentences similar to that of 'interdiction from fire and water' at Rome is certain. A tale in Appian shows that the authorities of Minturnae at the very end of the Republican period were prepared to deal summarily with brigands, it seems with little regard to the question whether they were citizens or not. The greatest probability seems to be that the theoretical autonomy of the towns in criminal matters was preserved by Sulla, but was gradually impaired as time went on. One of the rare passages bearing on the matter is in the speech of Cicero for Cluentius. It is stated there that the senators (*decuriones*) of the town of Larinum decided (*iudicaverunt*) unanimously that Oppianicus had falsified the registers of the census of the town. The language is vague, and a criminal trial by the whole local senate in this age is unexpected, though the later statute of Malaca prescribes it. Another serious problem is presented by the fact that Sulla's courts could only drive criminals out of Italy. Of what use was it for a local tribunal to drive a malefactor out of the narrow territory of the city? Later, indeed, a sentence by a tribunal outside Rome carried with it exclusion from Italy. It is hard to see how society could have held together in face of the wide immunity which the criminal burgess must have enjoyed if the principles of punishment as professed in the late Republican and earlier imperial period were strictly carried out. We may conjecture

that consistency was sacrificed to safety. But the whole problem is thorny in the extreme.

So far as the provinces are concerned evidence is scanty. A notable inscription of the island of Chios, belonging to 80 B.C., embodies a decree of the Roman senate whereby the autonomy of the Chians was secured, and obedience to the laws of Chios was enjoined upon Romans. As there seems to have been no saving clause, it must be supposed that the ordinance was applicable to criminal as well as to civil law. The 'lex Antonia' passed in 71 B.C. in favour of the city of Termessus Maior in Pisidia provides that the relations between Romans and the inhabitants of Termessus shall be as they were at a certain previous date. Romans must there have been at least partially subject to local jurisdiction. But even in the early days of Roman supremacy, total jurisdiction can have been retained only by comparatively few commonwealths, and even in their case it would gradually become unsafe on critical occasions to make use of the conceded rights in their entirety. The history of Cyzicus is instructive. This great city had been specially rewarded for loyalty to Rome during the contest with Mithridates. Dio Cassius states that about the year 20 B.C. Augustus "enslaved" it, because during civil broils some Romans were flogged and executed. A few years later the freedom of the Cyzicenes was restored to them. Then Tiberius punished them, in part for having dealt violently with Roman burgesses, in part because they had shown disrespect to the memory of Augustus, having failed to complete a temple which they had decreed in his honour. It seems clear that the right of Cyzicus to try Romans was not disputed either by Augustus or by Tiberius; it was the mode in which the right was exercised that incurred censure. The fortunes of Rhodes under Roman sway were very chequered. When Claudius rose to the throne, it happened to enjoy the largest amount of local liberty, but because some Roman burgesses were crucified by its magistrates, he degraded it two years later. Ten years afterwards he restored it to its former status. It is possible that the executions at

Cyzicus and Rhodes were reprobated because no trial or no sufficient trial had taken place.

About this time was established the privilege for every Roman to appeal to 'Caesar.' It is rendered familiar by the appearance of St Paul before Felix and Festus. The principle is supposed to have been laid down in a 'lex Iulia' of the reign of Augustus, but the statute cannot have been framed without exceptions. Possibly it only referred to the action of governors outside the 'free' states. But even inside these it would soon become practically impossible for criminal courts to exercise their full rights. Cnidus was an allied community, having made a compact with Augustus after the battle of Actium. But it seems certain from an extant inscription that Augustus intervened on appeal in favour of citizens of Cnidus who were condemned for murder by the municipal authorities. Pliny in Bithynia sent Christians who were Roman burgesses to Rome for trial, while he ordered non-Romans to be arrested summarily, with a view, it seems, to their execution. As the number of Roman citizens in the provincial towns rapidly increased, the inconvenience of the appeal to Rome must soon have been felt. Mommsen recognised that the right can never have been consistently and universally allowed. In the end the absurdity of making Rome the place of trial for the multitudes of Romans scattered over the world was acknowledged. Provincial governors received a commission to inflict capital punishment, by the so-called 'right of the sword' (*ius gladii*). The change came about gradually, early grants of the power being personal to particular governors. During the first century only some had it in their hands; in the second it became general. But there were always some express restrictions. Finally the population was divided into two classes, 'the more honourable' (*honestiores*) and the 'more humble' (*humiliores*). In the case of the latter the Roman administrators in the provinces were unrestrained, while the former continued to be invested with the privilege of appeal to Rome.

In the case of non-Roman cities, their criminal juris-

diction over their own burgesses in serious cases seems to have lasted into the second century, with gradually increasing interference. A legist of about the middle of the first century assumed that citizens of 'federated' communities might be punished by the governor, but the practice had certainly not become uniform at so early a date. A sophist of the reign of Hadrian advised the people of Smyrna to keep in their hands charges in which the risk was one of fine, but to leave alone cases of murder, temple-robbing and adultery, because they called for a judge who wielded the sword; that is to say the proconsul. This instance shows how privileges were falling into disuse by voluntary abandonment. Although a passage in Cicero's speech for Flaccus, delivered in 59 B.C., states that there was a 'conventus' at Smyrna, so that it may not have been regarded as a 'free' city in the technical sense, yet both before and after that date it was in some respects a favoured commonwealth. It certainly received 'immunitas' from Hadrian. Lucian more than once speaks as though when assaults took place in a Greek city of Asia, the ordinary remedy was to go to the proconsul. The examples actually recorded of the survival in the cities of the higher criminal jurisdiction in the second century are not many in all. The Areopagus at Athens long preserved some authority. When Piso, the enemy of Germanicus, visited the city in 18 A.D. he was angered because he could not procure the pardon of a man condemned by the Areopagus for forgery. But in Bithynia when Pliny was there, it was evidently common for this crime to be judged by the governors. In the reign of Trajan a proconsul of Africa, for heavy bribes, condemned a Roman knight to exile, and another to work in the mines, after which he was strangled in prison. Seven other judicial murders were proved against him. He and a leading accomplice were very lightly punished. The possibility of appeal to Rome against sentences passed in the provinces of course modified greatly the aspects of justice, and the most elaborate rules were evolved to deal with it. But they lie apart from our subject.

The jurisdiction of the towns in enforcing the very numerous fines, of high amounts, for public offences, chiefly by the magistrates, must have endured longer than in other departments of justice. Such questions were more administrative than legal. It is therefore surprising to meet with early examples of outside interference in such a matter as that of the qualification for the position of local senator. A dispute about this subject which arose in the Italian town of Concordia came before Lollius Urbicus, prefect of the city in the second century, as is recorded by Fronto. And earlier still Statius alludes to the plaints which reached the 'praefectus urbi' from distant Roman cities (*togatae*), apparently of similar nature.

The material prosperity of the municipalities would appear, on a general survey, to have been on the increase till the end of the reign of Severus Alexander. There were of course many eddies and inequalities in the stream of progress. The barbarian invasions which, for the first time since the Augustan age, became alarming while Marcus Aurelius was on the throne, and recurring pestilences which began to be notable about the same time retarded the development in some regions. But the tide of well-being ebbed rapidly when the death of Alexander gave the signal for a long series of civil wars, varied by desperate struggles with the Goths and other external foes. The inscriptions attesting the liberality due to local patriotism sink to comparative insignificance from this period. When Diocletian consolidated the empire once more, there ensued no 'Augustan peace' such as had relieved the sickness of the world two centuries earlier, though in many parts quiet allowed of some revival. The influence, however, which blasted municipal welfare was the system of taxation introduced by the autocratic monarchy. We are not concerned with its details but only with its withering effect on municipal life throughout the empire.

Among the many miseries of the confusion which prevailed from the death of Alexander to the final victory of Diocletian, the progressive depreciation of the currency was

of far-reaching effect. When devastation was widespread and oppressions of all kinds were rampant, the disorder of the coinage heaped ruin on ruin. But one curious result was that the fixed payments of the towns to the government, being made in debased metal, were lightened. This advantage was suddenly swept away by Aurelian's reforms, which thus added to the distress. The scheme of Diocletian and Constantine involved new and oppressive taxation. In practice, the magistrates and senates of the towns throughout the empire were made compulsory agents for the collection of the imposts and responsible for their production in full.

The new system cut deep into local independence, already narrowed by the action of the emperors over two centuries or more. We have seen that the old municipal chief magistrates were much circumscribed in their offices by the 'curator reipublicae' superimposed on them by the central authority. We have still to mention a body of men in the senates called 'decemprimi' who took into their hands, unwillingly no doubt, much power. This body had a long history. Already we have met with it in the Latin towns of Italy in Republican times. The Roman government were accustomed to deal with men in them called 'decemprimi' or 'decem principes.' The practice was extended to Italian allied towns not of the Latin status, and seems to have become universal in the peninsula. The city of Ameria sent its 'decemprimi' to Rome in order to plead for its citizen Sextus Roscius, when he was being defended by Cicero on a charge of murder. The Verrine speeches of Cicero show that the institution was common to all the Sicilian towns, and the 'lex Pompeia' established it in Bithynia. Then we find it all over the Greek East and in Egypt. The Greek name was 'dekaprôtoi.' Variations from the ordinary number of ten were found in many places. The city of Massalia had an important section in its council, consisting of fifteen members, who represented it in all external relations. It has been strangely supposed by O. Seeck that the idea of the 'decemprimi' was borrowed by the Romans from Massalia, though a mysterious change was

made in the number, from fifteen to ten. Sometimes, as we found in dealing with Africa, there were 'undecimprimi,' that is the ordinary ten with the addition of an important magistrate. In other places there existed 'vigintiprimi' or 'eikosaprôtoi.'

The 'decemprimi' appear at the head of the lists of local senates which have survived. They seem to have been composed of past magistrates. Commonly, but not always, they held office for life. They gradually displaced the 'quinquennales' in control of the local census. Every five years they and certain subordinates called 'tabularii' were engaged in supplying to an imperial officer, the 'censitor,' the information on which the taxation was distributed among the taxpayers. The plan of course opened a wide avenue for corruption and cruelty on the part both of the local and of the imperial officials. The rich, as was natural, fared better than the poor. The squeezing power of the central government was strengthened immensely by the attenuation of the numerous provinces into which Diocletian divided the empire and by the consequent multiplication of imperial servants. The 'decemprimi' seem to have already been made responsible, before Diocletian's time, for the gathering in of the contributions imposed on all commonwealths which did not possess the precious boon of 'immunitas.' The new organisation, with its vastly augmented imposts, laid an intolerable burden on the whole of the 'curiales.'

The unwillingness of citizens to undertake the responsibilities of office and to pass into the 'curia,' had been early felt. In the statutes of Malaca and Salpensa there is a provision whereby men might be compelled to submit their names for election to magistracies, if sufficient candidates did not voluntarily appear. Pliny told Trajan that in Bithynia there was a disinclination to join the senates of the cities. But we do not hear much of compulsion till after the accession of Diocletian. His system of government at once threatened to empty the local senates and a whole series of compulsory ordinances was enacted by him and by Constantine. Personal flaws which had debarred men from the 'curia,' servile birth,

social stigma, occupation deemed discreditable, no longer excluded, if a man's property made him a desirable member. Other grounds of exemption, such as membership of the imperial civil or military service, ceased to be effective. Constantine even invalidated grants of freedom made by the emperors. No doubt many of these were corruptly obtained, but this piece of legislation was somewhat grimly farcical. As the imposts regular and irregular increased so did the value of exemption. The recognised higher teachers called sophists and philosophers, and also physicians continued to enjoy an enviable immunity. A long chain of rescripts appeared, the purpose of which was to close all avenues of escape. The passage of new members into the 'curia' by way of office practically ceased. Men were forced into the body and then offices had to be shared by the members. In the first ardour of imperial Christianity, ordination in the Christian Church gave relief. A little earlier Maxentius had used enforced entry into the local council as a means of punishing Christians. Constantine adjudged the same penalty to the sons of army veterans who avoided by self-mutilation the now hereditary duty of serving in the army. The general stiffening of classes into castes which is a marked feature of the empire from the fourth century onwards affected the 'curiales.' The emperor Majorian expressed the feeling of the government by saying that it was necessary to check the trickery of those who were "unwilling to be what they were born to be." The man whose father was in the 'curia' was held fast to it by the mere fact of birth. If by any chance he could rescue himself, his property had to be left behind, and had to stand the strain of the duties which he had abandoned. The property was of far greater account than the person.

No wonder that civic councillors fled to the desert and joined the monks there or became humble tillers of the soil, or endeavoured by fair means or foul to strip themselves of their inherited rank, or at least to avoid the burdens which it brought. Punishment upon punishment was enacted with little effect. Money rewards were given to those who hauled

back the runaways. In some cases recalcitrant 'curiales' could be heavily scourged. Sometimes a great inquisition was set on foot to discover them and tie them down to their lawful functions. But many made their way out of the net through the corruption of those who conducted the investigation. The Theodosian code, published about the middle of the fifth century, is full of evidence about the mischief and about the futility of all means to remove it. The whole impression conveyed is one of hopeless and unarrestable decay. The property qualification for membership of the 'curia' was reduced to twenty-five acres in land, or the value of three hundred gold pieces. Nevertheless there was a continual decrease in the members and in their wealth. Phrases such as "the desolation of the curia," "the emptiness of the curia," "the languishing of the curia," are of frequent occurrence. In the time of the rhetorician Libanius, the middle of the fourth century, the senators of Antioch had sunk from twelve hundred to sixty. Emperors perpetually struggled with the problem, but in vain. Julian was undoubtedly minded to rule well; but Ammianus charged him with unjustly forcing men into the local senates, and again with favouring the members of the 'curia' at the expense of those who fell under their control. The whole scheme of government rested on the 'curia' and tended to crumble away along with it.

The pressure applied to the municipal councillors was inevitably transmitted to the poorer taxpayers, especially the 'coloni,' who came to be attached to the soil like serfs. Salvianus, the presbyter of Massalia in the middle of the fifth century, declared that there were everywhere as many despots as there were 'curiales.' Hence in 364 a new office was created, that of 'defender of the common people' (*defensor plebis*). It was intended that the holder should be a man of authority, not taken from the council itself, but one who had served in some important office under the emperor, and that he should hold office for life. But it proved to be impossible to secure the services of men whose prestige was great enough for the duties. And the 'defensor plebis' became 'defensor

civitatis,' bound to protect the whole community against the oppression of the imperial officials. Theodosius I was compelled to place the choice of 'defensor' in the hands of the local 'ordo' and to reserve to himself only a power of confirmation. So the 'defensor' went the way of the 'curator.' Finally the most important personage became the Christian bishop, whose sanctity gave him strength to stand sometimes between the citizens and wrong.

Thus the municipal system, beneficent in its earlier history, spite of all its defects, tumbled into hopeless ruin. Even in the sixth century, the Gothic king Theodoric recognised the importance of the municipalities and strove to save the remnants of local government. The question has been long discussed whether the medieval city had historical connexion with the town of more ancient days. No definite answer can be given. All that can be said is that a continuous history is possible for some cities in northern Italy and southern France.

The end was reached by equating two things which in early days were kept distinct, honours and duties (*honores et munera*). Every citizen high or low had his *munus* to perform; only the select few could reach to those posts in the public service which were deemed honourable. But gradually every such office carried with it heavy expenditure. At first the expenditure was voluntary, or only called for by public opinion. Then, as we saw, there was a tariff for every office, the 'summa honoraria.' Still no one was forced to take office. The next stage was to render office compulsory, and increase enormously the obligatory drain on property. In the Greek states many of the principal departments had from of old depended on the wealthier citizens, who had been compelled to support them, merely because they were wealthy. This was the 'liturgy' (λειτουργία) of which we hear much in the history of Athens and other Greek commonwealths. Under the system of Diocletian every magistracy in every community and the membership of every local senate, became a 'liturgy.' Indeed Libanius in the fourth century used the phrase "to perform a liturgy," meaning thereby "to be a

curialis." Thus, in a sense, the municipalities all over the empire were graecised. But there was no conscious assimilation. The levelling came about as the unavoidable consequence of the deep changes which half a century of anarchy and misery induced Diocletian to effect in the imperial system. He demonstrated that there were diseases worse than mere anarchy that might be induced in the body politic. Vast hordes of official locusts, military and civil, blasted the productive power of the lands. The cultivators dwindled away, and many fled to the uttermost ends of the earth to escape the tyranny to which they were subjected. Some of them even joined the barbarian invaders who were destined in the end to renovate the domains that had withered under imperial rule. And the renovation was accompanied, as one of its main features, by the growth once more of great city governments, able to rival the glories of the noble Greek and Roman municipalities. For many centuries the cities especially in Italy, Germany and England, endowed with a large measure of self-government, played a conspicuous part in the evolution of modern society.

# CHAPTER XV

## SOCIAL ASPECTS

SOCIAL life in the towns of the Roman dominions is obviously a subject too vast for successful treatment within a small space. Even when the Roman supremacy had done its work in assimilating to a large extent the local institutions throughout the empire, diversities in the societies of the commonwealths continued to be manifold. When, for instance, Burdigala (Bordeaux) and Bostra became alike 'Roman' cities, the lives of the citizens in the two places were in many respects poles asunder. The imperial cities, Rome and Constantinople, stood by themselves, and must here be left out of our account. We propose to view merely those features of ordinary city life which, in the area where the Graeco-Roman civilisation was most thoroughly absorbed, were closely connected with the structure impressed by that civilisation upon the commonwealths. In other words, it is the public side rather than the private side of social life in the municipalities that we have now to consider. Many matters which affect this theme have of necessity already come before us. These will now be regarded from a different angle, and others remain to be adduced. The consideration that we can give to the subject must be very general, and the resemblances between the towns of East and West must occupy us more than the differences.

When Aristotle spoke of the ancient city of an association of men for the purpose of achieving their well-being (*τὸ εὖ ζῆν*) he used a vague phrase which might also express the end for which the modern city exists. But the ancient and

the modern conception of well-being lie far asunder. In the times of freedom, before great sovereign powers like the Macedonian and Roman empires arose, the absolute autonomy of the city state, to be maintained by the strong hand, if need were, was an ineradicable element in the idea of well-being. The clashing of commonwealth with commonwealth, the incessant endeavours of communities to abrogate the autonomy of others, led first to a general absorption under the sway of a few dominant powers, and then contributed enormously to the creation of one empire conterminous with ancient civilisation. Then the ambition was to retain so much of self-government as was compatible with the new conditions. Our survey has shown us abundantly that something of the dignity of sovereignty hung round the ancient city down to a late age, and that this colours ancient municipal institutions and differentiates them profoundly from their present-day counterparts.

Connected with this difference is the passion in the old world for nobility in all the instruments and appurtenances of public and common life, which gave to insignificant towns buildings and adornments that would now, if perfect, enable them to rival in interest many of the most considerable modern capitals. The civic pride in such possessions and the rivalry between city and city in respect of them have practically died out of the modern world. It must be remembered that the division between town and country was far less sharp than now. Every member of a 'deme' in Attica had a proprietary interest in the splendour of the buildings at Athens. Villages, in their small way, within the city territory, would endeavour to maintain beautiful shrines or other public possessions in which they might glory, but their real patriotism was devoted to the walled city, with its great temples, markets, theatres and halls. The inhabitants of the territory of each municipality were in a way a little nation, whose affections were mainly centred in the town where its public affairs were carried on, its festivals celebrated and its gods revered. Every man aspired to have a domicile within the walls if

he could, and all those who performed public functions were compelled to reside there or within a thousand paces, as a rule. A considerable number of the free cultivators of the soil, those whose holdings were near the city, lived within it, going out in the morning and returning at night. The same was the case in medieval European towns. It is a familiar tale that when townsmen and gownsmen fought at Oxford in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the students would have the better of the fray in the morning, but the citizens would turn the tables on them in the evening when the agricultural folk returned from their toil outside. On days of public ceremony, the city would be thronged by a great part of those living within its territory. It was this association of the burgesses together *en masse* that constituted for the ordinary man the chief element in well-being. The life within the home counted for infinitely less, the life without the home for infinitely more than in modern times.

The instruments and amenities required by this incessant massing of burgesses for common duty or common enjoyment were therefore of prime importance for the whole community, and they involved an expenditure far beyond the regular and ordinary revenues of the town. The devotion of private wealth to public purposes became therefore a rule of life, enforced by ancestral habit and a dominant public opinion. Out of the many thousands of municipalities within the Roman empire, the number that owed much to the emperor or the millionaire was relatively insignificant. A few rulers, as we have seen, spread their favours over a limited number of towns. Among the Romans, the eminent liberality of Hadrian has been made clear. He was generous enough to leave the credit for buildings which he restored to those who originally erected them, whereas Trajan, on the strength of small repairs, would replace their names by his own, so that Constantine gave him the nickname of "wall-wort" (*herba parietina*). The Hellenistic princes, early and late, among them Herod the Great, were far more lavish in their gifts to the towns than the rulers of Rome, with the

exception of Hadrian and possibly Julian. The millionaires who followed the best princely examples were but few and far between. In the early period of the empire, exceptional wealth was largely directed to the acquisition of vast estates, which were destined for the most part to fall into imperial possession, usually by the direct method of assassination. If one may judge from such evidence as remains, it was commoner in the East than in the West for the millionaire to employ his means on public ends, and his existence there was on that account safer. Most of the brilliant examples of benefactions bestowed on cities by private men during the imperial time belong to the Greek East. One or two instances may be quoted.

The story of Euryklês, sometimes called 'despot' of Sparta, is romantic. His father Lacharês had made himself, in the period of confusion following on the outbreak of hostilities between Caesar and Pompey, a sort of brigand chieftain in the Peloponnese, and had been executed by Antony. But at the time of the struggle between Antony and Octavian the son was a man of wealth and splendour. His father's fate made him a friend of Octavian, and he brought with him three vessels of war to the battle of Actium. Sparta was about the only Greek community which sided with the victor, and in consequence it received the presidency of the Actian games celebrated at the new city of Nikopolis. Euryklês used his wealth for the glorification of Sparta and other Laconian towns, and was honoured by a festival which continued to be celebrated long after his time. He presumed, however, too much on his favour with Augustus and on his dignity as the greatest and richest man in all Greece. One of his possessions was the island of Cythêra. After turning for some time a deaf ear to complaints Augustus was compelled to punish him with exile. The island was given to Sparta. Inscriptions show his descendants proud of their ancestor during a number of generations.

The most brilliant private benefactor of cities was Herôdês Atticus, who belonged to the time of Hadrian and the

Antonines. He was a renowned sophist, and had Marcus Aurelius for a hearer. His full name was Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herôdês; some ancestor must have received the citizenship from the emperor Tiberius or Claudius. The family had been distinguished from the days of the Republic, but the grandfather of Herôdês Atticus had suffered condemnation for treason, and his property was confiscated. It is said, but need not be believed, that the family had been distinguished already by two tenures of the consulship at Rome. A strange tale is told about the renewed wealth of the family. The father of Herôdês discovered a treasure so vast that it seemed dangerous to hold it, and he proposed to surrender it to the emperor Nerva. But he was ordered to keep it and to use it well. The wonderful career of Herôdês is detailed by Philostratus in his "Lives of the Sophists." He became a trusted officer of Hadrian, who gave him a commission to reform the free cities of the province of Asia. So enormous was his wealth that when a liberal sum granted by Hadrian proved insufficient for a new aqueduct to supply the city of Alexandria in the Troad, he with his son made up the deficiency, amounting to four millions of drachmae. His other benefactions were numerous and royal. At Athens, among many other gifts, he erected the Odêum at the foot of the Acropolis, of which considerable remains are extant. A number of cities in Epirus, Euboea, Boeotia and the Peloponnese enjoyed his bounty; also Corinth, Megara and Ephesus. At Olympia he built a great aqueduct to provide pure water for the visitants at the festival. And at Thermopylae he renovated the medicinal baths and made them useful to health-seekers. One curious benefaction was bestowed by him on Canusium in southern Italy, which he transformed from a 'municipium' to a 'colonia.' The town was supplied by an aqueduct with the water which it sorely needed when Horace passed through it on his journey to Brundisium. Men of great fortune occasionally appeared in towns of comparatively small note. Opromoas, a citizen of Rhodiapolis in Lycia, was commemorated by a great monument on which

were inscribed copies of sixty documents, letters from emperors and high officials and resolutions of public bodies, all honouring his abounding beneficence.

But only a small fraction of the many thousand municipalities in the empire can have drawn on great stores of imperial or private wealth. Large property could as a rule only be amassed by men who lived on the great highways along which the main streams of commerce passed. The less notable towns were more thrown on their own resources than the great historic cities which attracted the notice of princes and emperors and their imitators. Here the 'haute bourgeoisie' were quite as lavish in proportion to their means as their wealthier counterparts in famous places. The additions to the ordinary budget in the small towns as well as the larger mainly consisted of gifts from individuals. That great modern resource, voluntary contributions from a large number of donors, is not often encountered in the records of the ancient world. Most of the public collections of which we hear were to do honour to particular citizens, rather than for the good of the body politic. To commemorate a local patriot, a statue would be erected, or he would be given a public funeral after a 'penny collection' (*stipe collata*) according to old Roman fashion. Few inscriptions refer to any joint efforts by citizens for the common good. Two memorials tell how the fortifications of the obscure town of Tegianum in Campania were put in repair by voluntary contributions, at the time when war between Octavian and Antony was impending. To one of them the names of the contributors were appended. Tacitus mentions that after the awful sack of Cremona in 70 A.D. by the troops of Vespasian, the market-places and temples were restored by the splendid generosity of the townsmen, with some assistance from the emperor. Collections for any benevolent object are rarely mentioned. Lollianus, the famous sophist and professor at Athens in the time of Hadrian and Antoninus, is said to have got together subscriptions to relieve a famine. And the instances in which different commonwealths worked together to secure some

benefit are but few. Reference has already been made to the famous bridge over the Tagus at Alcantara, of which half a dozen arches still remain. It bears a record that twelve communities joined to construct it. The words "stipe collata" seem to indicate that the contributions were voluntary. But the examples of combined effort, whether on the part of individuals, or of cities are comparatively few. The great mass of the towns depended largely on gifts made by individual citizens whose property was obtained within the limits of the separate 'territoria' or of an area near at hand. By far the most important source in the case of inland cities was agriculture. We have already seen how deceptive are the tales which tell of general agricultural decay in the first two and a half centuries of the empire. The flourishing state of thousands of civic communities all over the empire affords sufficient refutation. The attractions of town life were, it is true, then as now inimical to rural industry. We hear occasionally even in the earlier imperial age of fertile lands left uncultivated, which the law on certain conditions was ready to bestow on those who would till them. But in this period there was no widespread abandonment of cultivation such as ensued on the grinding taxation of the later empire.

The cities therefore in their flourishing time subsisted to a great extent by an unremitting dispersion of accumulated capital for the benefit of the inhabitants at large, on a scale which it is difficult to overestimate, in view of the evidence which has survived. The expenditure was intended to facilitate the continual association of the citizens with each other, which was demanded by the ancient idea of the city. But nevertheless the different grades within the town were very sharply defined. This was the case from the first with the communities of Italy and the West. There was more of the spirit of equality in the cities of Greece and the East, but in them distinctions of class grew continually more marked under Roman rule. We must confine ourselves here to a sketch of the divisions of society in the normal city of the West, with an occasional illustration or a contrast drawn

from the Hellenic world. We have then first to observe a certain paradoxical feature. On the one hand the burgesses associated together, both in the lighter and in the more serious affairs of life, in a closer and more constant and more intimate manner than in modern days. On the other hand the lines separating class from class were far more rigorously defined than now. Let us look at the different social strata, to discern the aspect of each.

First we have the 'haute bourgeoisie,' which supplies the occupants of the magistracies and priesthoods, and the members of the local senate. Until the time when public honours ceased to be objects of ambition, in the circumstances already described, this section of the community tended to be more and more self-contained; and we have no parallel to it in the life of modern towns. The local council followed the lines of the great imperial 'senatorius ordo' at Rome. Cicero spoke of having burst through the "barriers of nobility" when he became consul at Rome, as a "new man" (*novus homo*). In the second century of the empire, it must have been almost as difficult for a parvenu in a great many of the towns to make his way into the ranks of the local nobility. Magistracies and priesthoods often passed down in the same family for many generations, and the process can be traced in not a few inscriptional records. Within the local 'ordo,' as within the Roman, families would rank by the tale of honours to which they could point. Proud pedigrees were presented by many; in some cases, no doubt, as fictitious as those which exact antiquaries hold up to ridicule in our day. If the annals of a city presented any heroic personage, historical or mythical, his descendants did not readily disappear. The posterity of many Athenian notables, Periklês, Konon, Pheidias, Themistoklês, is traceable far down into imperial centuries, and there were parallels at Sparta and in many other cities. Among the burgesses we sometimes find descendants of princes who had been 'mediatized' by the empire. As in the towns of Italy in Horace's time, so generally, the retired centurion was a prominent figure in the local community, and he seems

often to have had wealth enough to enter the senate. Still more important was the Roman knight, especially if he had been in the service of the emperor and had so attained to what Tacitus calls "equestrian nobility." On the Greek side of the empire an athlete who had won victory in the great games, a renowned teacher of philosophy or rhetoric, or a literary man often held a prominent position in the community. In some Greek cities the successful physician was a conspicuous figure. At Massalia, one named Krinas left by will ten million sesterces for the repair of the fortifications. A man whose fame was more than local would often be chosen to represent the community, and could secure the attention of the government where the interests of the town were concerned. In Greek lands, especially in the Asiatic cities, the women of the wealthy class are far more conspicuously connected with public offices than in the towns of the West. This is mainly to be accounted for by the Greek system of 'liturgies,' which early threw the burden of certain public functions definitely on the possessors of considerable property. But the positions opened to women were chiefly those which had a sacred or a social rather than a political character. Thus women were often 'gymnasiarchs.' Probably their duty was rather to supply the needed money, than to preside, as a man would, at the displays of the athletes. The curious office of 'stephanephoros,' connected with sacred festivals, was often held by women. And it was at times an 'eponymous' office; that is to say, the year would be denoted by the name of the holder. It is stranger to find a woman 'commander of cavalry.' But local military designations had in the later time no connexion with military practice. The prominence of women is one of the marked distinctions between the cities of the East and those of the West.

The career of one born in the municipal 'purple' was marked out for him from his birth. The poet Naevius complained of the Metelli in his time that they became consuls "by destiny," not by merit. In the municipalities wealth came more and more to be the only consideration. A boy of the

curial order would often be inscribed on the official list of the senate at a tender age in a kind of reserved class. In an inscription of Ferentinum reference is made to the lads of this category, who are called "incrementa curiae," a phrase which recalls Virgil's famous expression about the miraculous child, in the Fourth Eclogue, as "magni Iovis incrementum." He would begin at an early age to fill the offices of the commonwealth. The old Roman rule that thirty years was the earliest period for office was soon abandoned. In the second century aediles of eighteen were apparently not uncommon. The pressure of the financial system tended to render obsolete all rules as to age. At each step the young 'curialis' would have to pay his way, according to the fixed sum which the laws of the community allotted to each office. But the honour of the family would require him to exceed this payment as much as possible. It would be his aim to carry out some important work of which inscribed records should remain for the admiration of posterity. His benevolence might take many forms, according to the needs of the commonwealth. The disposal of the 'summa honoraria' was, as very numerous inscriptions show, often left to the magistrate. When some public structure was dedicated the donor would have a day of glory. Thus at the little town of Thibica in Africa certain aediles, after expending manifold the sum fixed in the tariff for their office (*multiplicatis summis honorariis aedilitatis suae*) gave presents on the day of dedication to the members of the senate, and a banquet to the citizens at large. The 'decuriones' did not at all disdain to share in the distributions of small sums of money which very frequently took place on days of public ceremony. The portion they received was generally three times that of the common men. The magistrates often gave special games, accompanied by 'missilia,' gifts scrambled among the people, after the manner described in the poem of Statius about the great celebration of the tenth anniversary of Domitian's accession to the throne. Gifts of capital sums, the interest to be expended on material benefits, such as little feasts on days of rejoicing, free baths, free places

at exhibitions or, especially in Greek lands, oil for use in the gymnasium, were common. The public festivals were far more usually of a musical or literary character in the East than in the West, but the influence of Greece on the barbarian lands was in this respect not inconsiderable. The dignitaries of small places subordinate to the larger towns were not behindhand in benefactions, according to their means. It was also expected that a man who had shone in the service of his city should not forget it when he made his last will and testament. The number of recorded testamentary bequests is enormous. The legal restrictions on the recognition of cities as beneficiaries were never very difficult to get round, and were gradually relaxed and in great part abolished. But the right of towns to inherit was never so frankly accepted by Roman lawyers as that of the divine personage. To a select list of divinities, chiefly non-Roman, the privilege was fully granted.

The priesthoods in the western provinces were nearly all connected closely with municipalities and were practically in the hands of the class which possessed the magistracies, and the gifts which the priests necessarily made on taking office tapped the same springs of wealth. In the East, while many priesthoods were municipal, there were, as we have seen, great sacred officers comparable with the prince-bishops of medieval Europe. The new imperial cult introduced high priestly offices in provincial areas which stirred the ambition of all members of the wealthy class in the towns which they contained. Divine property was expended in the main for much the same purposes as secular, with some added pomps and processions of a definitely religious character. The public amenities of the sacral centre often corresponded closely with those of the city. For example at Lagina in Asia a benefactor erected in the sacred grounds baths, a gymnasium, a theatre, porticoes, 'propylaea' and other adornments. It has been noted that sacred offices provided a field in which women could satisfy a passion for public distinction.

The 'haute bourgeoisie' was repaid for the outpouring

of its wealth by multifarious distinctions, for which there was a veritable thirst. Those who took part in municipal activities ever had their eyes fixed on the record of their lives as it would appear on their tombs. Thousands of inscriptions have preserved the memory of successful local ambition. During life the 'curiales' were uplifted above the general level by conspicuous positions at all public ceremonies. This Roman practice was adopted all over the West and commonly in the East. In the fundamental law of Urso, Caesar's colony in Spain, a heavy fine is imposed on those who without justification take a seat among the local councillors at the games. Special honours for special service were also constantly decreed. The statue was the commonest recognition. Often a number of statues of the same man were erected in his honour by his fellow-burgesses. Thus ten busts were made at Cnidus of one Artemidorus, son of a friend of Augustus; three of marble, three gilt, and three of bronze, and in addition one gilt was placed in the temple of Artemis. It was humorously declared that in some places the number of statues was equal to the number of inhabitants. Certain it is that they sometimes were so numerous as to obstruct traffic. An inscription at Cirta relates that a magistrate removed many to more convenient sites. Communities bent on economy, especially in Greece, would often adapt old statues to new uses, altering the inscriptions on the bases or even providing them with new heads. Roman governors often received this ambiguous honour. At Athens effigies of Pergamene kings were rededicated to Antony, and even those of men like Themistoklês and Miltiadês were put to new and mean use.

The inscriptions on the bases of these statues were for the most part more sober in the West than in the East. The westerns were wont to cling to a mention of concrete facts as a justification for the accorded honour. Among the Greeks a statement of abstract excellence was very usual, such as 'virtue,' 'beneficence,' 'love of fatherland.' And in Greek cities fancy titles were more frequently bestowed than in

western communities: titles such as 'son of the city,' 'daughter of the city,' 'mother of the city' or 'of the populace' (*δήμου*) or even 'of the senate.' In Romanised lands there is nothing like the fine gradation of distinctions often adopted on the eastern side of the empire. In Aphrodisias, Rhodiapolis, and a number of cities of Asia Minor, six classes of 'honours' (*τιμαί*) are found, and a man may have bestowed on him any class from the first to the sixth. The Greeks were apter to pay with words than the westerns. The 'consolatory decree' (*παραμυθητικόν*) is specially characteristic of the Graeco-Asiatic city. It follows from the greater conspicuousness of women in the public life of Graecised regions that they far oftener received these municipal distinctions than was the case in the West. Public recognition in the case of mere children was not unknown. For this the mere virtue of being born in the 'haute bourgeoisie' sufficed. Benefactors not of the town were distinguished by enrolment among the 'patroni,' with whom we have already dealt. To these the 'proxenoi' of the Greek cities partially correspond. Sometimes when a man who was not 'decurio' had benefited the community he was appointed to membership of the senate without payment of the customary entrance fee. This fact is often stated on inscribed memorials.

The Greek inscriptions of the first two Christian centuries testify to a much stronger passion among the local aristocracies for the acquisition of the Roman citizenship than we find existent in the West. This is partly explained by the circumstance that the transference of communities from the peregrin to the Roman status proceeded more slowly in the eastern provinces than in the western. A number of inscriptions refer to the connexion of local officers with the Roman polity. Doubtless lavish expenditure in the municipality often paved the way to the Roman franchise. It could indeed be bought, as the case of St Paul's friend shows. A provincial governor often could, for a bribe, induce the emperor to grant the boon. Plutarch ridiculed the yearning of Greeks to be Romans. A man in Chios, he says, who had

obtained great influence in his island, cares nothing for it; he weeps because unable to wear the 'patrician' toga; when he gets that, he weeps on the ground that he is not praetor; appointed praetor, he weeps because the consulship is wanting. The Roman citizenship carried with it, of course, subjection to the tax on inheritances which Augustus imposed on the Romans.

One of the honours most coveted by the municipal senator was that of representing his native place as envoy (*legatus*) on a mission to the emperor or to the provincial governor, or to the meeting of the 'concilium provinciae.' In Greek cities the office of 'theôros' or representative at the great sacred Hellenic festivals at Delphi, Olympia and elsewhere, was of the same importance. The embassies to the reigning sovereign were of course the most highly prized. The commonwealths were at all times anxious to keep in touch and in favour with the government. Every event in the history of the imperial family was seized on as a pretext for sending a deputation to the capital, to congratulate or condole. Roads leading to Rome were thronged by civic representatives coming and going. Matters of real business of course had often to be taken in hand in this manner. Petitions for benefits, such as remission of taxes or help in disaster, or for punishment of erring officials, had to be presented. But the number of useless embassies was immense in comparison with those which had some sense in them. One of Plutarch's prescriptions for the better government of the Greek cities was the abolition of idle missions. The rivalry between cities led to a great expenditure on the equipment of the envoys, and the mischief early attracted the attention of the Roman government. Sulla passed a law restricting the sums that might be expended. The letters of Cicero despatched from Cilicia give the impression that the statute was of little avail. Bad governors, like his predecessor Ap. Claudius Pulcher, easily induced the commonwealths to send men to Rome to bear false testimony to their conduct in office. Under the imperial régime many restrictive regulations were passed.

An interesting letter of Pliny informs us that the city of Byzantium spent twelve thousand sesterces annually on an embassy of congratulation to the emperor. It was ordered that the decree with which the ambassadors had been entrusted should for the future be transmitted through the governor of the province. A similar expenditure of three thousand sesterces for a greeting to the governor of Moesia was suppressed. Emperors again and again interfered after the manner of Trajan, but the evil always made headway still. Perhaps the emperors felt that the presence in Rome of these 'legati' mitigated the mischiefs of centralisation and enabled them to get at the real sentiments of the provincials, though the messages which they came to bring were often insincere or false. At any rate it is recorded of some rulers who were among the best administrators, Tiberius, Vespasian, Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius, that they gladly gave ear to the municipal 'legati.'

The office of 'legatus' was compulsory, as we see from the statute of Urso. But rich men who volunteered to take it on their shoulders had great opportunity for shining in the eyes of their fellow-townsmen. There was at Obulco in the Baetic province of Spain a 'perpetuus legatus.' A number of inscriptions embody thanks to citizens who had splendidly performed the function. Greek cities loved to be represented by a rhetorician or philosopher, whose fame might make an impression on a Hellenophil emperor. Indeed ambassadorial eloquence was recognised as a special department of oratory, for which rules could be laid down as for other departments. In the later age bishops were often chosen by the commonwealths as envoys. Sometimes those who volunteered their services may have had an eye to their own profit or advancement. It is perhaps not unfair to suspect this in the case of a lawyer of Comum, who performed five embassies at his own cost. Even in the fifth century the function of 'legatus' was a joy to members of the local aristocracies. Sidonius Apollinaris describes the eagerness with which the distinction was still sought after in Gaul. Candidates showed a "detestable

demagogy" (*execrabilis popularitas*); they canvassed the most important men in the community; they grasped their hands, took them aside and forced kisses on them; they tendered their services without being asked; they offered to perform the duty gratuitously.

We have seen that the 'curiales' developed, under the terrible pressure of late imperial taxation, into an ironbound social caste, within which men were imprisoned with little hope of escape. To console the victims of the system, they were relieved of some burdens which fell upon other subjects of the empire. By the time of the Severi, the old assumption that all Roman citizens were equal before the law had gone by the board, and society was divided into the 'more honourable' class (*honestiores*) and those who were 'more humble' (*humiliores*). In the former class were included the 'decuriones,' with the Roman knights and senators and the veteran soldiers. The law treated the two sections differently in many respects. Criminal punishments became more and more severe in the later empire, and presented a great contrast with those of the Republic, when every citizen was, in theory, free to withdraw himself from penal sentence by voluntary exile. It was of some value in the late age to the 'decurio' that he could not be executed by a provincial governor without permission from the emperor; that he was protected from degrading forms of execution, the crucifixion, death from wild beasts in the amphitheatre and the like; that he could not be condemned to penal servitude in the mines or elsewhere; that he could not be tortured to give evidence. Also some crimes which entailed death for the common man would only be punished in case of the 'decurio' by 'deportatio' or other form of exile. But every person who escaped from the service of the town into the great 'senatorius ordo' of the empire or the higher grades of the imperial service hardened the life of those who remained behind.

In a large number of cities the grade of society next below the 'curiales' was composed of men called 'Augustales,' originally devoted to the worship of Augustus as divinity.

In many municipalities we find this organised body, and also a set called 'seviri Augustales,' sometimes distinct from the others, sometimes intimately connected with them. Our knowledge of the 'Augustales' depends on a great mass of inscriptions. In literature only one writer mentions this class of persons. Herein we have a curious example of the failure of important institutions in the ancient world to secure a due place in written records. On the door of Trimalchio's dining room, in the 'Satirae' of Petronius, were fixed 'fasces' with axes in them, and an inscription: "given to Trimalchio, sevir Augustalis, by Cinnamus his steward." In towns of Greek pattern the 'Augustales' are absent. They are very frequently found in Italy itself; less commonly in the provinces adjacent to it. A few towns in Spain possessed them. In Africa the evidence for their existence comes from but three places, Ammaedara, Thamugadi and Theveste. On the eastern side of the empire only some Roman colonies of early foundation are known to have possessed them, Patrae, Corinth, Philippi and Alexandria in the Troad. Their firm and distinct position as constituent elements in the municipalities was only gradually acquired and was not fully recognised till the second century. We sometimes find the community summed up as consisting of 'decuriones, Augustales, plebs universa.' When a distribution of money was made on public occasions, the 'sportula' given to the 'Augustales' was twice that given to the plebs, the 'decuriones' receiving threefold. This is a measure of the dignity of the body. The 'Augustales' were thoroughly organised as a religious college, with all the ordinary characteristics, as chiefs (*magistri*) a treasurer (*quaestor*) and a common chest (*arca*). The sevirate was a priesthood, and those who had passed through it seem to have constituted, not a gild, but an 'ordo.' We have examples of resolutions passed jointly by the two 'ordines,' the 'seviri Augustales' and the 'decuriones.'

The great significance of these bodies was that they were composed overwhelmingly, though not quite exclusively, of men who had been in slavery and were therefore classed

as 'libertini.' The extraordinary drift of wealth into the hands of this class of the community, who could engage in trade without any derogation, is one of the marked social features of the early centuries of the empire. It supplied Petronius with the theme for his great jeu d'esprit, the 'cena Trimalchionis.' A 'lictor' knocks at the door of Trimalchio, and ushers in a 'sevir' who is a stone-mason, known for constructing most excellent tombs. Caesar had made a concession to the 'libertini' by allowing them to hold magistracies in his colonies. But Augustus posed as the restorer of old Roman principles. He felt compelled to keep closed to the freedmen class in the towns the offices which 'our ancestors' had reserved for men of untainted birth. But he was ready to make a new place for them in the municipalities by connecting them definitely with a form of that imperial cult for which the whole world was crying out. This was allowed, under the gentlest pressure from the centre, to take such different shapes as were most congenial to the various populations of the empire. The very remarkable inscription on the altar of Narbo, entitled "a vow undertaken by the common people in honour of the divinity of Augustus" states that yearly sacrifice is to be performed to the new godhead by three Roman knights sprung from the commons (*a plebe*) and three 'libertini.' The institution of the 'Augustales' is an expansion, so far as freedmen are concerned, of the principle of this altar. By the end of the reign of Augustus both 'seviri' and 'Augustales' were well established, and brought within the circles of local patriotism and imperial loyalty. Thus the wealth of the parvenus among the freedmen was made of avail for all the purposes to which the local senators and the older priestly officers devoted much of their property. By becoming 'Augustalis' or 'sevir' the freedman obtained what was for him an enviable dignity. He paid for his admission like other officers of the community, sacred and secular. In order to secure it he was tempted to spend lavishly. One of Trimalchio's fellow-freedmen boasts that he was admitted to the sevirate without paying the usual fee.

This concession doubtless expressed gratitude for favours past and for favours still to come. When the rank had been obtained there were the same inducements for the freedman as for other officials to spend money liberally. Thus the unwritten law that great possessions were held on trust for public uses was fastened on the 'libertini.' After Diocletian's time the necessities of the government led to the adoption in the municipalities of Vespasian's principle about money: "non olet." Men of servile origin were forced into the municipal magistracies and the municipal senates when these had ceased to be goals of local ambition.

It is a little surprising that an institution so useful as that of the 'Augustales' did not spread over a wider area. But the social ostracism of the 'libertini' was especially characteristic of Rome and Italy. There is much to show that where the Italian influence was not strong, the body of freedmen did not suffer nearly so much from the spirit of exclusiveness. They could associate with citizens more freely and therefore a definite organisation was not so necessary, in order to induce them to open their coffers for public purposes.

We come now to a most important feature of society in the ancient towns, those associations to which the Romans gave the name of 'collegium' or 'corpus.' They were unions of citizens, in the first instance voluntary, but of necessity attracting the attention of government, and calling for its observation. These 'gilds,' if we may use a convenient and somewhat indefinite term, were formed of various classes of men, and for various purposes. In the Greek towns they bore an aspect in many respects unlike that which they assumed in the West. Among the Hellenised peoples, the impulse which brought the members of a gild together was often literary or artistic, or athletic; impulses less ordinary in the Romanised municipalities. And associations for mutual aid such as the Greeks called 'eranos' were of rare occurrence on the western side of the empire. Among the Hellenes, too, the gilds were for a long time far less intimately connected

with the texture of the municipality than was the case in the West. In what follows we shall have regard mainly to the gilds of western lands, with a few references to the Greek sphere of influence.

By 'gild' we mean a form of association which has a definite organisation and is intended to be permanent. It has duly appointed officers and takes stated contributions from its members, who meet regularly for the purposes of the society. Its government was as a rule closely modelled on that of the municipality and, like the municipality, it became capable by law of receiving gifts and endowments by the wills of benefactors, while it also benefited in the same manner by the generosity of the living. And whatever the main purpose of the ancient gild might be, it was hardly ever out of touch with religion. Just as the municipal body politic had its gods at the core of its existence, so these minor bodies centred round some form of cult. But the degrees of importance which the religious element held in the gilds were very diverse. In some it was the principal concern. This was the case with the colleges formed to carry on the worship of the oriental divinities, Isis, Mithras and the rest when they took their course from East to West. Italy felt the first shock of these new societies at the time of the so-called 'Bacchanalian conspiracy.' But commonly the cult was only worn as a distinctive badge by the college, the real object of its existence being social.

The early history of these gilds is everywhere shrouded in obscurity, and all through, until the time of Constantine, we are dependent for our knowledge of them mainly upon inscriptions. In Greece they only began to be common in the Hellenistic age. At Rome there was a legend that Numa formed definite societies of handicraftsmen for public purposes. The oldest Italic inscription belongs to an association of cooks, natives of Falerii, but domiciled in Sardinia. It is a dedication in the name of the college to the Roman triad, Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. Complete freedom of association was allowed by Rome, so long as public order was not

infringed, down to 64 B.C. Then the abuse of the right of union for political ends led the senate to dissolve colleges of recent creation, existing only for a temporary purpose. Clodius established full freedom once more in 58 B.C. But the empire could not afford to leave the gilds without supervision. Augustus authorised the Senate at Rome to be the licensing body for the whole empire. Here, as in other fields, the emperor soon began to act apart from the Senate. Colleges which had sanction were 'licita.' The phrase 'collegia licite coeuntia' occurs in an inscription at Lugudunum. But 'collegia illicita' were not necessarily suppressed, if they remained inoffensive. Tertullian speaks of the Christian societies not indeed as 'licita,' but as not deserving to be treated as 'illicita.' All 'collegia' were liable to dissolution as a penalty of disorder.

In 59 A.D. there were great tumults at Pompeii owing to the jealousy between that city and the neighbouring town of Nuceria. There is a famous wall-painting from Pompeii which probably refers to this event. A massacre occurred and gilds concerned in it were abolished by the Roman Senate. In a city which had not a good reputation for orderliness the emperor would sometimes be loth, as Trajan's letters to Pliny show, to allow new 'collegia' to come into existence. Pliny asked permission for an organisation of carpenters (*fabri*) in Nikomedia, who would act as a fire brigade, but failed to obtain it, because such a body might become a political club. On the other hand Trajan declined to interfere with the gilds of Amisus, a free city. In the second century the gilds seem to have developed freely and rapidly all over the empire.

The gild is essentially an institution of the individual town. It rarely happened that gilds in different towns, even when bearing the same name and composed of members who had the same interests, communicated with one another. The exceptions are almost entirely confined to Greek soil. An extreme example is that of the 'Dionysiac artistes,' men who

served the theatre; they ultimately obtained an organisation spread over the empire and having its centre in Rome. From a municipal point of view, the associations of far the greatest consequence are those composed of men following the same craft, then those which were what we should call burial clubs. These are the bodies which were really useful. But every town contained others, many of them ephemeral. Clubs bearing the names of 'late-drinkers' (*seribibi*), 'little thieves' (*furunculi*), 'sleepers' (*dormientes*), 'comrades in death' (*commorientes*) and so forth, cannot have been permanent.

The 'collegia' or at least the more important of them in each city held a recognised position of dignity in the community. Inscriptions often mention them after the 'decuriones' and the 'Augustales.' They marched in public ceremonies and processions, with their banners, like the gilds of Florence and other medieval towns. But the idea that the artisan colleges in any important respects resembled the gilds of the Middle Ages or the modern Trade Unions, is a delusion, though it has often been entertained. There is no substantial evidence to show that they either regulated apprenticeship or took active measures to raise wages. Indeed the 'strike' is one of the rarest of phenomena in ancient society. Hardly half a dozen instances could be culled from all the memorials of antiquity. Nor were the tradesmen's unions bands of men who contracted for work, as some have thought. In fact the object of the existence of these bodies was almost entirely social. They had for principal aim the very purpose which the city itself was supposed to further, the social well-being of the members, viz. to heighten the dignity and amenity of life. By uniting, men individually of comparatively small importance raised themselves in the social scale, and obtained satisfactions not to be gained by them apart. And the satisfactions which union afforded were of much the same character as those which the larger society of the city as a whole supplied, through joyous association in the feast, and in special displays added to the civic exhibitions which were

essential to the existence of the citizen in ancient days. The fact that in a trade corporation the members were engaged in the same occupation was in effect of little significance beyond this, that it formed a natural link for sociability. But though trade interests were not a prime object, they might occasionally be served by the existence of the 'collegium,' because it enhanced the prestige of the craft. The gild could often attach to itself, like the city, influential 'patroni,' who might secure advantages for it. Thus at Brixia a 'patronus' obtained from the emperor a confirmation of a certain exemption previously granted (*immunitas*). An important inscription relates to a lawsuit brought by the 'fullones' of Rome against the officers of the imperial fiscus, in defence of a privilege recognised by Augustus. The litigation lasted eighteen years, from about 226 to 244 A.D. The gild of porters at Rome called 'saccarii' obtained an imperial order which excluded what would now be called 'blackleg' labour from the circle of their industry, that of unloading cargoes at the quays. This, however, is an almost unparalleled benefit. There is no example of any ordinance having been procured which imposed a standard wage.

The gild did its little best, like the city, to provide itself halls of meeting, shrines, porticoes, 'ludi,' and other equipments which might subserve and brighten the intercourse of the members. A great many colleges possessed a building called 'schola,' literally a 'place of leisure.' A misinterpretation of the word lent its aid to the idea that the gilds of artisans engaged in the training of apprentices. The meeting-place of some colleges at Beneventum bore the name 'studium,' but it is not certain that they were gilds of craftsmen. Rich donors were apt to attach their gifts to the more important gilds. The poorer ones obtained little from outside, as was the case with the poorer towns. Sometimes the associations could secure the right to meet in a temple belonging to the community. It is recorded of the 'college of poets' said to have been established at Rome in the time of Naevius, that it was

permitted to assemble in the temple of Minerva. Those gilds which were especially funerary met generally in the burial monument of the members or in some building attached to it. The one craft which is almost unrepresented among the gilds is that of the tiller of the soil. Only among the Greeks are found here and there associations of husbandmen. But many of the country dwellers would belong to urban gilds, and others would be connected with the circles which clustered round the rural shrines.

Many, perhaps most of the ordinary gilds of the West attended to the obsequies of deceased members. But among the poorer section of the population the desire to secure decent burial and a little measure of remembrance after death was the chief, often the only purpose of their gilds. The horror of the common pit, such as Horace described, into which the bodies of the indigent were flung, lay strong upon the spirits of the lowest class and even, as we shall see, of the slaves. Colleges of this description, known as 'collegia tenuiorum,' were authorised by law *en bloc*, and no special permits were needed. The title 'collegia funeraticia,' current in modern writings, is not of ancient date. These gilds made no reference to death in their titles; that would have been a matter of evil omen. The gracious word 'salutare,' 'health bringing,' often appears in the nomenclature. The most famous of all the inscriptions of this class belongs to a 'collegium salutare Dianae et Antinoi' at Lanuvium. The cult of Antinous, the favourite of Hadrian, was grafted on to that of Diana. The college had already its foundation day or birthday (*natalis*), but from 133 A.D. adopted as a new additional birthday the first day of January, in special honour of Antinous. The heir of each deceased member received a definite sum (*funeraticium*), three hundred sesterces, to be expended on the obsequies, unless the deceased had been six months in arrear with his contributions or had died by his own hand. Sometimes the dead man had bequeathed the sum to the college. In that case the heir had to bear all the cost.

Where there was no will, the college took charge of the interment, under direction of the 'magister.' The gild at Lanuvium laid down precise regulations as to what was to happen if a member died at a distance of not more than twenty miles. If there was time, three members were sent to superintend the funeral, receiving twenty sesterces each for expenses. If misconduct was proved against them, they were heavily fined. For deaths at greater distance there were further elaborate provisions. Sometimes when a man died in a far-away land, the college would erect for him a cenotaph in his native place. There was usually an 'ustrina' close to the college monument, where bodies were burned. Those members who attended the funeral ceremony received a small gratuity. Eight days later there was what was called a 'nine-day sacrifice' (*novemdiale sacrificium*) in honour of the departed brother. An inscription on an urn or a column, or over a niche in a columbarium, perpetuated his memory. Once or twice a year there would be a general celebration of dead brethren. The pretty festivals, called 'the day of the rose' (*dies rosae*) and 'the day of the violet' (*dies violae*), became common in the West.

These social unions were of profound importance in the ordinary life of the citizens of most ancient towns; and no forms of society in the modern city afford any real parallels. Numerous festivals and ceremonies enlarged the narrow scope of the individual existence. Even the so-called funerary gilds had their days of revel, aided by special contributions or benefactions from officers, patrons or richer members, as in the case of other gilds. Thus a body which described itself as "fellow-livers who are wont to feed together" (*convictores qui una vesci solent*) at Fanum in Umbria was really a burial club. Indeed the chief function of all gilds, the thoroughly religious as well as the nominally religious, was the common dinner. The "pontificium cenae" of which Horace speaks, had their counterpart in every 'collegium,' down to the meanest. Varro spoke of the banquets of the gilds "which inflame

the market" (*excandefaciunt macellum*). The 'calendar of dinners' (*ordo cenarum*) was a serious document in every college.

The importance of the gild in the local commonwealths was of course not the same in all parts of the empire. These organisations were more complete in the western than in the eastern section. And even in the western portion they were not universally present. Few of them were to be found in the cities of Africa. Their place seems to have been taken by the 'curia,' the unit of subdivision for the burgesses. The 'curia' had the general characteristics of a 'collegium' and served the same purposes. The citizens associated together without much regard to rank or calling. In Greek lands the tribe (φυλή) often held much the same position in the city, and in like manner supplied the want of the craft organisations. In the earlier period these were not common in Greek cities. In only a few, Thyatira for instance and Philadelphia, was the institution well developed. In Philadelphia, indeed, the body politic was actually organised according to gilds. The history of Florence and other medieval cities supplies illustrations such as can hardly be found in the ancient world. In connexion with Thyatira, it may be observed that the tailors there put up, in honour of the Caesars, lodging-places for strangers. This is a rare example of a benevolent purpose being connected with a college.

Although we are dealing principally with the city and the citizens, we must take a glance at those who were not strictly members of the community. First, the residents from outside (*incolae*) who at Athens would be called 'metoecs,' and in the Graeco-Asiatic cities 'paroecs' (πάροικοι). The privileges of the resident aliens must have varied greatly from city to city in the earlier period. We find in the constitution of Malaca that they were allowed to vote in a single 'curia,' selected by lot, just as some resident Latins in Republican Rome could vote in one tribe or century. As the burdens of citizens increased, and the privileges became less valuable, the difference

between 'cives' and 'incolae' tended to be obliterated. In the Theodosian code we find the two classes subjected to the same burdens, and the holding of office has become equally incumbent on both. But the 'indweller' was at a disadvantage because in theory he was also subject to burdens in his place of origin. Yet this double liability can only have been enforced in practice when the transference of domicile was of recent date. Disputes on the matter fell to be settled by the provincial governor. Aliens to the local commonwealth naturally banded themselves together in gilds. The 'conventus civium Romanorum' and the 'Italici' in peregrin cities, whom we have repeatedly encountered, afford examples. The excavations of Delos have produced evidence of a number of associations of Roman and other merchants, resident in the island. All seaport cities contained many unions of foreign traders. There were a great number, for instance, at Puteoli. They maintained and propagated cults they had brought with them from far-away countries. In the earlier imperial period, some of the 'incolae' probably found admission to the order of 'Augustales' and so acquired a recognised position in the city.

The growth of the protection afforded by law to the slave within the city is an interesting matter, but lies apart from our theme. We will only note here that the slave population, like the free, sought solace and support in the principle of association. Colleges were often formed by the slaves or freedmen of the great imperial palaces or other abodes of the wealthy. Pliny the younger humanely gave effect to wills made by his slaves, saying "servis respublica quaedam et quasi civitas domus est." So the 'public slaves' (*servi publici*) belonging to the cities formed colleges of their own. But the line was not drawn between the freeman and the slave, at least in the lesser towns of the empire, with the rigour that was shown in Republican Rome. In not a few instances freedmen, and in some cases slaves, appear as members of the trade associations. In the burial clubs, this class is still more

frequently represented. In the funerary gild of Lanuvium special provisions were made for the obsequies of slaves. If a cruel master refused to surrender the body for burial, and the slave had died without making a will, the college would perform his pretended funeral, and would give him a cenotaph and observe such ceremonies as were needful for the repose of his spirit in the other world.

From what has been said, little enough for the deep significance of the subject, some idea may have been gained of the extent to which the voluntary association was interwoven with the texture of society in the municipalities during their period of greatness and prosperity. We must now turn to the melancholy time of decline. The fact that the 'collegiati' went through the same stages as the members of local senates, and became imprisoned from generation to generation in a circle of duty from which they could not escape, is patent to any reader of the Theodosian code. But the lines of development by which this wretched goal was attained cannot be clearly traced. The first associations to be chained down were those connected with the supply of provisions for the capital, especially shipmen (*naviculariі*) and bakers (*pistores*). The burdens imposed were at first supposed to be compensated by privileges and immunities, but in the fourth and fifth centuries the balance came to be weightily on the side of obligation. By this time we find the 'collegiati' or 'corporati' linked with the 'curiales' of each town as bound to perform heavy 'munera.' Just as the 'decuriones' became instruments in the hands of the government to ensure the production of the taxes, so the 'collegiati' in the town and the 'coloni' in the 'territorium' were placed under the domination of the 'curia.' The incorporated traders who had to convey food, constantly increasing in variety, to the two capitals, Rome and Constantinople, were under the tyranny of the central authorities. The three bodies, the 'curiae,' the 'coloni' and the members of the colleges were all equally turned into hereditary castes, whose lives and property were subject to external

control. Penal laws affected all these classes alike. There was compulsory service for them all. Those qualified were forced to undertake it. If they attempted to break the bands of duty, they were hauled back, and a reward was given for their apprehension; five gold pieces for the capture of a member of the local council, one for that of a member of a college. So far as the colleges are concerned, the evidence only permits us to discern clearly the fact of the general enslavement; on particulars we can get very little light. We find that the fire-service in towns fell upon two bodies, the 'fabri' (carpenters) and the 'centonarii' (workers of hides), who were united ultimately by law. When a fire broke out, however, all 'collegiati' were bound to lend a hand; the cry ran through the town 'omnes collegiati.' The progress towards enslavement was accelerated by the concentration in the hands of the government of a vast amount of property connected with industry. We have already seen that the mines, forests, fisheries and other natural means of production fell almost entirely into the control of the emperors. And the manufacture of all things needed for the army or the official services generally became in the main an imperial concern. Freedom in industry and commerce was ever more and more restricted. In a hundred different ways the administration pressed upon the workers. The requirements of the government post service along the roads were terribly burdensome, particularly after Christian synods and councils grew common and official, and it was sorely felt by the towns on the routes. The delivery of corn and other provisions for public use, apart from the supply of Constantinople and Rome, laid a crushing weight on the municipalities as well as on the country folk. The growth of the great imperial domains was a further aggravation of the evil. Workers were eager to find any way of escape, ordination in the Christian Church, service in the army, flight into barbarian lands. But every avenue to release was blocked so far as possible. The army became self-recruiting and membership of it hereditary. Men could not be spared

from the towns for service, and if a 'collegiatus' enlisted and was discovered he was sent back. The fixity of the grades of society naturally intensified the need to employ barbarian forces.

But here our survey, which strictly deals with the cities as affected by historic movements, must find its conclusion. Enough has been said to show that the very life-blood of ancient civilisation was in the cities, and that the civilisation itself was bound to die when this life-blood was drained away. In this tragedy of ruin it is difficult to assign any great rôle to human will. No movement in history wears more the appearance of a destiny, sweeping along in an ever growing flood, imperious and irresistible.

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